TERMS.

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JUNE 18, 1849.

For the National Era.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR.

A TALE, ILLUSTRATING THE MINOR RESULTS OF THE

MEXICAN WAR. Our readers may have noticed in some of the Cincinnati papers the death of Charles Brough, from cholera. Mr. Brough was, a few years ago, a lawyer at the Cincinnati bar, and editor of the leading Democratic paper of that city. He approved of the war in Mexico, and at length felt it his duty to join the army as a volunteer. He was chosen colonel of his regiment, and, as such, was respected and liked, we believe, by all around him. Last winter, he was appointed President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, for the county in which Cincinnati is situated. During the short time he was upon the bench, his manners, his promptness, his good sense, and his knowledge of law, astonished and pleased many

ver of Mexico, had brought home with him from its trying climate a confirmed and chronic complaint of the stomach and bowels. This laid him open to an attack of the epidemic; at ten o'clock in the morning of the 10th of May, he reluctantly left the Court-House for his bed, and before six in the evening of the same day, his corpse alone remained on earth. This was one of the trifling results of the Mexican war. And how many hundreds-perhaps thousands-not colonels, not judges, but privates and ploughboys, will, unheard-

'piece" of Mexico! But the little resultant of that glorious contest of which we have to speak, is somewhat different

in its character, and involves, as yet, we believe, no death; but it is as necessary and as plain a consequence of the conduct of our Executive and Congress, as Mr. Brough's decease, and, like that,

of, unnoticed, die in this way, or linger through

life invalids, because Mr. Polk must conquer a

is, beyond doubt, but one of many hundred similar When travelling in the early summer of 1845

through the State of Ohio, we were struck with the neatness of the little village of W. Most Western villages, we are sorry to say, are slatterns. Many are prematurely old; covered with gray hairs and wrinkles, while yet scarcely out of their teens. But W. was an exception to the outskirts-were all in good order, were all wholesome, were all evidences of a good spirit in the community, of a good moral tone in the heads and hearts of the people. One house and place, just with peculiar power. There was so much taste. disinterested a disposition evidenced in the architecture, the barns and sheds, the martin houses veiling evergreens, all so modest and unpretending, and yet all so attractive to the passer by, that both my companion and myself exclaimed-"How I should like to know the owner of that

spot!"
We passed it with back-turned eyes, but had not gone many yards before our attention was called to a young man and woman—or girl, if you prefer it—who were walking arm in arm toward the house we had been admiring. We had just time to notice the extreme loveliness of her countenance, which glowed, like an angel's, in the golden light of the setting sun, and to percieve that his face, though elevated in its character, was deeply scarred by small pox, when the driver cracked his whip for the usual insane rush to the

tavern door, and we were swept round a corner, and lost in a cloud of dust.
Upon recovering eyesight and breath, we found

that we were to stay at W. until four the next morning. So we washed off some of the soil that dung to us, asked the supper-hour, and, finding there would be some time to spare, strolled through the town. Then it was that we especially noted its neatness; and pleased with all we saw—the human hive below, the solemn, many-tinted clouds above, the cries of the sweeping swallows, the laugh of the mirth-choked children, the gurgle of the river, and the song of the village cobbler, who was just putting the last touch to a pet boot, to the tune of "Lucy Neal"—we roamed on unconcharmed us as we rode in. The shades were gathering around the evergreens, and under the vinethe sunlight, and the yellow lilies had been robbed of their gold; only the modest, clinging, feminine honeysuckle made itself better known than in the glare of day, as its delicate fragrance, like darkness and chilliness of coming night. The windows were open; the lamps not yet kindled; but we could hear merry voices, and then a light hand ran over the keys of a piano; the laughter pleased, half melancholy, we retraced our steps to

The evening was cool, and a fire, as is often the case even in June through the centre of Ohio, was very welcome. By the blazing logs sat our stage company, our hostess, and her daughter; and, in the absence of other topics, I inquired of the good woman of the house whose place it was that stood at the foot of the hill as you entered the town from the south. The information which we obtained from her, and from Mary, her "child," as she called her—though Mary was near six feet high, and thirty years old—I shall condense for the benefit of my readers, as it occupied, in the communicating, at least an hour and a half.

The house had been built by old Colonel Smith

(I like that better than an initial, and the real name at length I cannot give, of course.) He was a Virginian, and an Indian fighter of the "heroic trifle, and sold a portion of it for a fortune. After that, he had rested from his labors, and passed from the sight of men. His widow, twenty years his junior, and the daughter of his old age. Margaret, occupied the homestead. The only other surviving child, a son, named McArthur, after his father's early friend, the Governor of Ohio, was in Texas, full of the old fighting, land-acquiring, fortune-making spirit. The widow was rich, that is, for her lifetime; rich enough to be courted, although thin and fifty. "More than fifty," the landlady said, with an emphasis; "for I'm near forty, myself," said she; and as she spoke, Mary gave her an unutterable look of astonishment and gratitude; "and I'm sure Madam Smith is at least ten years as old as me." But if the mother was yet young enough to be a belle, how much more I cannot recall the number of Margaret's suitors that Mary, laying down her knitting, counted over on her parboiled fingers: their name was legion. Was any accepted? Yes, at length one had been. A stranger? No! An old playmate, a schoolfellow—one whose bedside Mrs. Smith had dared stay by when hirelings deserted it, because the sufferer there was the victim of that terror of the ignorant, the small-pox. He lived. beauty gone. He had afterwards, but but when still a boy, saved Margaret's life while out one summer afternoon plucking water lilies; he was a proud boy, and knew his homeliness, and would not, as he thought, like one whom all others, that I husband.

The National Era is Published Weekly, on Seventh Street, opposite Odd Fellows' Hall. dared do it, ridiculed. Besides, Margaret was rich, while he was a poor farmer's son, and must

to offset her money, and who might thus secure a chant, and whispered in his ear, that those bright eyes he scarce dared look into, could see more prejudice and error. For a time, the Right grew than skin-deep; that the warm heart he had saved from an early grave was not to be scared by "dents." Thus Ned took courage; and, before he had been two years the partner of the old lady, was in a fair way of becoming the partner of the young one too. At this, the whole town buzzed with excitement and delight. Smith & buzzed with excitement and delight. Smith & campalife: the hot, listless round of duties; the and as the junior was a general favorite, great were the rejoicings in his good fortune. Even his rivals congratulated him, with but one exception. That exception was a loud-talking, tobacce-taing young lawyer, who did up the White co-eating young lawyer, who did up the Whig politics of the village, and whose voice, even as the landlady told her tale, could be heard from

common shopkeeper, a sort of charity boy, as he said, was to marry half the Smith estate, it agwere daily, or rather each evening, together; and the shadows which came each evening, like the

through many a dream that painless, guiltless laugh, which I heard as I lingered by the locust hedge, has sent its purifying music.

Last autumn, I was called again to visit the reprevailing rule. The houses, stores, fences, shrubs; the hats of the men, the jackets of the children; the tare not have not have not been described by the names of Buena Vista, were all in good order, were all in good order were all in good order. them. As I came near the town, my heart beat at most as much as if it were my own home, or that of some old and dear friend, which I was approaching. By and by, from the hill-top I saw the shaded roof of the cottage. Checking my horse, (for I was now travelling on horseback, and not out in fancy the life of those who had made that roof to me living wood, rooted somehow into my heart. I saw the lovers—in fancy, as I say melt, like clouds of a misty morning, into each other's being, through that year of probation. witnessed the inevitable marriage; I dwelt in the home of that single spirit filling mystically two human frames I beheld every virtue, every good impulse, every noble aspiration, strengthen, rise, rule, live in and out from the twain that had become one. Ned's dented face grew beautiful from the soul that shone through it, as a light through net-work, and Margaret's — but at that point of my reverie, a teamster, who had been waiting some minutes for me to get out of the middle of the road, made himself so audible, that I was forced back to earth again, to take charge of my

mag. When I reached the village tavern, I found that all was changed. A new landlord presided at the bar; a new landlady broiled half-dead chickens in the kitchen; a new Mary, heiress to the same parboiled fingers, however, the table, and poured out tea with the dignity of Lady Macbeth. It was a sad blow to me. relied on Mary the first, to bring down the history of my heroine to the present hour. Disgusted with the world, I swallowed my bacon and lard biscuits, and walked into the bar-room. There was but one person in it. This was a very gentlemanly-looking man, who was engaged in inspecting the list of new arrivals. Having completed his survey of the register, he found me at the hotel door, and we soon fell into conversation. I found him so pleasant, so well informed, so quiet and sympathetic, that I at last made up my mind and my mouth to ask him if he knew a Mr. Bruce, of that place. He said there were many of that name thereabouts. I then told him I meant the junior member of the firm Smith & Bruce; and, as I spoke, I noticed a shade of infinite trouble pass over the face of my informant "Is Ned a friend of yours?" said he. I told him all that I knew of the young man, and of Margaret, and how I had learned it. The shade on the good-natured, common-sense, commonplace countenance of the person I was speaking to, grew darker and deeper with each word I uttered. When I was through, he said, abruptly, taking me by the arm, "Come home with me spend the evening. Pll tell you all about it." My heart stopped. "Is any one dead?" said I. "No, no; they are all alive, but it's that infamous, abominable, soul-murdering Mexican war!" This out burst was so strong and strange, that I yielded to my inviter, and went with him. He was, as I learned afterwards, a bachelor of some property, who made it his business to seek out all deserving strangers, and be kind to them. His pleasant rooms, his quiet tea-table, his roast of beef on Sunday, his books and pictures, and maps and periodicals, and, above all, his open heart and intelligent head, were at the service of those who had no other home, no other friends in the village, and who could appreciate his and him. The tale which he told me, I, in as few words as possible,

Ned, it will be remembered, had determined that his marriage should be postponed until his share of the store-profits would pay all common expenses; for, though he expected to remain with the old lady at the old place, where Margaret had come to, and her father had passed from, earth, he still wished to pay his way; he was not, and that Sam Black called him. To insure the desired profits, the young trader had confined himself so closely, worked so continuously, that his health, never very firm, had been seriously impaired, and in the early spring of 1846, the physician, to whom he now and then went, began to throw out hints of consumption. I need not say how terrible this word "consumption" became to Margaret and her mother. What could be done? The doctor advised travelling, but Ned had not means to journey with, and would not accept them from one not yet his wife: pride was stronger than love of life: and as to his love for ner, was there not an Eternity? So matters stood. shivering, doubtful, when the existence of by the act of Mexico" was proclaimed by the President, and echoed by a startled and subservient Congress. What imagination can follow the searching influence of such a cry, as it rouses every hamlet, and pierces every solitary home-stead. The village of W. was in convulsions meetings were held, speeches made, volunteers enrolled, and so much whiskey drank that my landlord of 1845 had retired with a fortune, and

dared do it, ridiculed. Besides, Margaret rich, while he was a poor farmer's son, and must live by his hands or his head.

But Time, which heals so many wounds, and body in everything. It was an adominately foco, slave-extending war, but we must support the honor of our country, and "conquer a piece," if not the whole. Such were Sam's sentiments. In those days, Sam Black was all in all; everybody in everything. It was an abominable, Locofoco, slave-extending war, but we must support the in the outward and inward condition of Ned Bruce, (for I may as well give my hero a hero's name.) His youthful vanity was less touched than once by the wondering stare of the children; who, thanks to Jenner, so seldom saw the footprints of the terrible disease he disarmed, that they were always wondering what made those "dents" in Ned's bright countenance. But as the traces of his disease became less painful to him, the influence it had exerted over his constitution became more apparent. It was plain he could never bear the hard work of a farm, and his old father began to cast about for some other means of livelihood. Mrs. Smith, hearing how country" and "our God," were almost synonythings stood, at once proposed to advance the capital necessary to open a new store, which should be under the charge of Ned, whose services were his affianced in the discussion of such topics. She dreaded lest it should be said that he shrunk from subsistence. The offer was weighed with much caution, and at last accepted; and thus it came that if he shrunk he would die. He feared not to pass, that our hero and Margaret were far more than ever before brought together. Then old Time came with another secret to the young mer-dreaded with his whole soul to lose one particle

growing strength embalmed every incident, and made even the cat-fish quarrel exquisite.

who, having known him only as a party editor, were prejudiced against him. He promised to be one of the best judges that had ever presided over the case-crowded court he was called to. Even his strongest political opponents acknowledged his merits. But Mr. Brough, though he had escaped the bullets, the stilettos, and the deadly feached the distance of the village, and whose voice, even as the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the landlady told her tale, could be heard from the distanct bar-room. His name may as well be Sam Black. Sam, according to Mary's account, horors; the soul of his bride sickened even at horors; the soul of his bride sickened even at horors; the soul of his feeble picture. Sam Black had been especially conspicuous for both courage and brutality. Ned, however, said but little of him; it was from other letters received in the town that Margaret fellow, who would pursue his own ends by any means, and let the devil catch the hindmost. Sam learned how forward he had been for distinction in charging, slaving, violating, robbing. The had courted Margaret for her fortune, or perhaps her beauty, but had been, it was rumored, rather indignantly refused; and when he heard that a due excitement, fast assuming, it seemed, the un-

> gravated him. Besides, the Smiths were Whige, and Bruce and his father rank Locofocos. That made it almost too bad to bear. So Sam talked like a town-crier, about the "handsome shopboy," and waited the hour of revenge. Thus stood matters, when the landlady told us the tale. Ned and Margaret were to be married when his share of the store profess were to be married when his share of the store profess were to be married when his share and Margaret were to be married when his share and married when his share the store profess were to be married when his share and married when his share and married when his share the store profess were to be married when his share and married when his share the store profess were the same and the winter rains made it necessary for Margaret to give up her walks in those woods where she had walked with him. Rumors of skirming the store was a state of the same and the winter rains made it necessary for Margaret to give up her walks in those woods where she had walked with him. Rumors of skirming the store was a state of the same and the winter rains made it necessary for Margaret to give up her walks in those woods where she had walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and the winter rains made it necessary for Margaret to give up her walks in those woods where she had walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and the winter rains made it necessary for Margaret to give up her walks in those woods where she had walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and the winter rains made it necessary for Margaret to give up her walks in those woods where she had walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and the winter rains made it necessary for Margaret to give up her walks in those woods where she had walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and walked with him. Rumors of skirming the same and walked with him. Rumors of skirming the of the store profits would enable him to keep him. I dare not try to describe her growing, house—which might not be for a year to come.
>
> This was Ned's own stipulation. Meanwhile they were daily, or rather each evening, together; and the store of the store profits would enable him to keep him. I dare not try to describe her growing, silent agony. The Inquisition, with all its tortures, never could equal the horrors of suspense. It was mid-winter before the agony ceased, before the suspense was broken.

> the shadows which came each evening, like the wings of an angel, shielding them from the sight of all around, did, I felt sure, but make them look into each other's soul more deeply, and temper their love to a greater purity, and more perpetual duration.
>
> As we left next morning, the day was well abroad; and as we ascended the hill to the north, I fancied I could distinguish the cottage, the evergreens, the dove-cot, the home of so much beauty, truthfulness, happiness. And for years the image of that home has haunted me, filled with the light of that countenance, which I saw but for an instant in the summer sunbeams; and through many a dream that painless, guiltless laugh, which I heard as I lingered by the locust hedge, has sent its purifying music.
>
> Then, not long before the battle of Buena Vista, a letter came to Mrs. Smith, from the captain of the company of which Ned had been a member, saying, that in a night march of their corps between Monterey and Saltillo, in November, an attack had been made by the Mexicans. The Americans had defeated the assailants, but with the loss of many of their number. Ned was among the lost. His body had not been found, but was in the thicket, as they supposed, for he was among the charge. That at least was a source of joy—he had died bravely, nobly. With a hope in that Eternity of which he had so often spoken, and with a pride in his unblemished name as a soldier, Margaret half dried her tears.

Margaret half dried her tears.

The mail which brought Mrs. Smith's letter, brought another, announcing the loss of Sam Black in the same skirmish that had proved fatal

ering and whose cheek was paling amid the early wild flowers, the happy rose buds, and the laugh-ing lilies, of the summer of 1847. At last it was August. How slow time went to the weary. In August, one hot day, the boy from the tavern came bursting up to Mrs. Smith's with a great package from New Orleans—from Mexico. Margaret, as it chanced, was away. Mrs Smith opened and read these wonders: In the skirmish of both had been wounded, both taken prisoners but, during the contest, twice had Sam saved the life of his successful rival. They had been, during the winter, nursed together by a family with whom they and other helpless prisoners were left. In March, Ned's old disease, which had gained ground silently while he was weakened by his wound, became alarming. In April he died. His last wish and request, and he had made it in writing, a copy of which was sent, had been that Margaret should marry the saviour of his life, his truest friend, Sam Black. In a few weeks, Sam himself, and others who had been honorably discharged, would reach Ohio. Such was the missive.

Margaret's sinking heart became ashes as she read. But what next? Should she spurn at his last request? Should she bind herself to one she detested? Such was the alternative.

In a little while, the party of discharged volun-

teers arrived. The writing, his own writing, his own dying wish, was laid before the unnerved girl. The bystanders of the deathbed, the witnesses of that last desire, passed, like spectres, before her, and told their unnoticed tale. Her mind was elsewhere; her reason had bowed to the agony, and she obeyed the voice of the dead, as a child obeys the word of its parent—blindly, unquestioning. In October of 1847, she became the legal, not the spiritual, wife of the returned volunteer.

The winter passed on. It was a cool April evening, and Margaret, sad as Ophelia, sat with her mother by the silent fireside. No merry fingers ran that night over the piano-keys, no painess laugh rang cheerfully through the responsive Mr. Black was abroad at a political meeting, for he was more than ever a politician, a meeting, for he was more than ever a pointerin, as real, original Taylor man. On that evening, as Margaret sat thoughtfully, her eyes fixed upon the door, she saw it open, and there silently entered the form of Edward Bruce. It was so like him, and yet so deathlike: it was so noiseless in its motions, and yet so perfectly distinct, that the unhappy girl knew not whether it were a spirit, or she were crazy. Across the room the form came, brushing the chair in which Mrs. Smith was nodding, straight toward Margaret. She moved not, breathed not, life seemed to cease in her body, and, as a soul, she stood in the presence of a soul. The form was by her—knelt before her—she felt its breath—she looked into its feverish eyes—she heard a voice say, "Margaret, are you indeed married?" She made no reply for she was lifeless.

It was Edward himself, returned to lament that he had not died in Mexico.

He and the hateful husband of his bride had een wounded together, had been prisoners together. Black had effected his escape by informing the family in whose power they were, that Ned was immensely wealthy, and carried a large sum bound round his body. He reckoned upon his death at the hands of the rancheros. The whole tale of the saving of Ned's life was false, but not falser than the words of the act of Congress which called him to the field. The written request was a forgery; but Sam thought, if the Presdent could forge causes of war, he might a cause of marriage. His companions perjured them-selves; but what was that, after the rapes and murders of Monterey? The lies of a nation had taken root in an individual soul, rank and ready to receive them. The spirit of robbery and lifetaking, which came forth from the Capital of a great people, had become the spirit of one human being—of one, of this one we write of; and of how many hundred beside? Sam was too clear-headed not to see that "our country, right or wrong," is but the generalization of "myself, right or wrong." He would have made a poor lawyer, had he been unable to discover that the former maxim, if true, (and did not all affirm it?) so utterly dethroned God, that but one guide renained for man-Self. My country, my State, my party, my sect, myself.

And where was Margaret? A form without a

Such was the story told me by my bachelor host, by last autumn's fireside. When the leaves fall again, two troubled spirits, doubtless, will have passed from this world, to bear witness for-ever to the infinite, unnumbered, and innumera-He shrunk from the contempt of a kitchen maid Mary the first with dry hands and the hope of a | ble evils which flow from national falsehood, am-J. H. P. constitutional weakness, though brave with the then still Cabinet Minister—Secretary at War— Houston soon showed what the charge of "defec bition, robbery, and wrong.

For the National Era. RETRIBUTION.

Your La Porte correspondent (in Era No. 21) ventures a criticism upon Mrs. Southworth's story, which induces me to offer my thought upon some of the points in it to which he takes ex-

one of the story in the opening paragraph of the first number, and at the close of the tale rehearsed its moral, that the close of the tale rehearsed its moral, that the reader might not misapprehend its main design. The reviewer has, however, not caught her idea, any more than he has given his own with clearness. He has read the tale with the interest which it has for everybody, and with some appreciation, but, like a man with large perceptive powers, but cloudy reflectives, he has seen only the figures truly, their features, the light and shade, the attitudes and grouping, but missed and mistaken the action of the piece and the idea of the painter. Fastening upon a verbal difficulty, and holding her responsible for dictionary definitions of terms which she did not intend, he discovers heresy in the turn of a phrase, and in the sharpest possible meaning of a word imagines an assault upon settled opinions.

Mrs. S., having occasion to distinguish between those retributions of sin which are enforc-

ed respectively by the laws of society, by those of the human constitution itself, and by those which religion ascribes to the final judgment of the world in another state of being, designates them by the convenient terms, human, moral, and divine retribution. The things themselves are distinct enough in those respects which are intended by her words, and if there be any philological inac-curacy in the names employed, there is not only no mischief in her use of them, but she has even very high authority for their employment. Theo-logians understand the death denounced originally as the penalty of sin to be just what she means by its retribution, and they divide it into death temporal, death spiritual, and death eternal, intending therein to embrace every form of evil resulting from or inflicted upon disobedience. The first of these, death temporal, corresponds well enough to Mrs. S?s human retribution; for, while it embraces more than her words-more than the penalties which human laws can afflict-it is only more of the same kind of evils; but the death spiritual and eternal are identical with her moral and divine retributions, to which alone our friend

The critic "cannot see the propriety of the distinction between moral and divine retribution." Does he not see the same as that usually made by religious people, and the same necessity for defining it? Mrs. S. does not mean a distinction in kind, or a difference in the cause—not a subjection. kind, or a difference in the cause—not a subjective or intrinsic difference, but one of circumstances—a difference of time, place, and relations, merely. She gives her own definition: "Divine retribution belongs to eternity, and is distant, and may be averted by repentance; but moral retribution we must suffer; it grows out of the sin as naturally as the fruit is produced from the germ—it is the evil principle itself, in its final stage of development." Treating it all along as an anievitable accompaniment and consequence of moral wrong-doing; that is, it is the injury which sin wrong-doing; that is, it is the injury which sin works in the soul, directly, and the reflected evil which, by the moral constitution of man, reacts from all the parties involved upon the wrong-doer. This is clear enough to me; I get angry, I suffer the pain of the ill-feeling, I am a weaker and worse man when the passion subsides than before, and I have provoked retaliatory anger in another; close as cause and effect, my ill-temper and its punishment cling together in my experience. Human laws may not regard or may fail to punish my offence, and in the end the divine may have pardoned my guilt; but the immediate, the imminent evil, its natural concomitant, has been suffered in part, and something of it, the reactive part of its punishment, remains to be suffered, and neither can be averted or avoided. This, the hardening and corrupting of the heart, the blinding and weakening of the understanding, and the bitter fruits yet to be gathered where my sin has

dured till it is exhausted, deserves such distinct consideration, and we must not quarrel with the

better ones.

And there is nothing in this to justify the in-Marference, that she "attaches more importance to
openpunishments in this life than to the retributions of eternity;" for the alleged certainty of the one does not affect the certainty and force of the other. Nor is it in the matter of their respective "importance" that she touches either of them. She dinary influence upon human conduct. And she is right. Future punishment, in the spirit of the world, is "distant" to all who expect to live half a score or half a hundred years; it is "vague," very, to all who have comfortable creeds, and to those who have none; and its "uncertainty" affects its influence still more; for, not only the are in the habit of treating themselves to the benefit of a presumption, that the atonement and the divine mercy will settle their account at the great day pretty much as they wish. It is this play of hope between our sins and their ultimate judg nent, which, however it may chance to be justified by deathbed repentances, and a salvation "as by fire," gives so much importance to the leading idea of the tale—the inevitable moral retribution which attaches to wrong-doing, whatever else may be avoided or forgiven. Mrs. S. has made her story render the service of a sermon, by oringing the spiritual death of theology into re lief, and by vindicating it with so much point and power. I, for one, regard this her purpose, and its accomplishment, as the wealth of her work crystallized into a gem of practical wisdom.

It is ignorance or neglect of this kind of retri-

ution, inevitable and concurrent with delinquincy, which makes the teaching of the story at once s

necessary and important. The oritic is himself an instance of this ignorance. He knows that the wages of sin is (eternal) death, but he does not moral death punished necessarily with its proper privations, pain, and shame, in the present life, as well as liable to the retributions of another life. He does not seem to know that pardon remits only accompanied by that reformation called the new birth, still leaves behind it the habit and the taint of past abuses. His notion (I cannot call i a philosophy) is of that loose kind which applies to the case of a miserable escape by a deathbed repentance, but inspires very little spiritual life into every-day morality—a religion whose main reference is to the next world, but nearly worthless for the purpose of the present. This special, future, and the resulting neglect of the wear and tear of soul produced by the incessant little inquities of life, was once well exhibited to me. I met a vagabond out-door pauper one day, on his way to church. "What do you go to church for, Jamie?" said I. "Jist to prepare for heaven," said he, "for I'm fit for nothing else, and, in troth, I'm hardly fit even for that." That effect of sin, which from its very nature is not capable of pardon and remission, is the very idea which our lax Christianity most needs. A little observation shows that the doctrine of salvation by grace is desperately abused. The dying sentiments of General Jackson, the dying confession of the last murderer hanged at Baltimore, and the obituary of a saintly church member of exemplary piety, which I have lately read, are so exactly alike, that one cannot help being alarmed at the injurious influence of the doctrine of heaven by in this world, however it may answer the requirements of the next. It won't do. The Apostle meant something, which is but too much neglected, when he insisted that ne must work out our own salvation, notwithstanding the work that is done for us and in us. He strikes at this law, which Mrs. S. endeavors to illustrate, when he speaks of those who by reason of use have their senses (moral, of course) exercised to discern be-tween good and evil. The distinction taken between children, young men, and fathers in Christ, means something more than a merely ornamental growth in grace which rests upon this very law f our nature—a law which secures to every man mind, wandering among the evergreens and roses that she had ever dwelt among—feeling, knowing, scarce more than they did. And Ned? With scarce more than they did. And Ned? With his old father, dying in his mother's arms, with but one wish at his heart or on his lips—the return of her departed mind. And the forger, the turn of her departed mind. And the forger, the constant tendency to "exalt himself above measure," as the natural fruit of that zeal and ambition which the Nandeon-like character of Saul of marked the Napoleon-like character of Saul of Tarsus, and needed a thorn in the flesh to cor-Peter stumbled at the ignominy of the

sword as Julius Cæsar; and long years afterwards the Jews of good repute were able to tempt him from the simplicity, modesty, and contrasted meagerness of the new religion which he preached.

had the Indians under his care—and was riding the hobby of their civilization. He required this strip to be given up to the Indians, for their permanent abode; and thus, it also was lost to the Neither the severe rebuke, "get behind me, slave States. All Louisiana was then gone from Satan," the gentle appeal of his Master, when he denied him, his own bitter repentance for his offence, nor all the miraeles which he afterwards wrought and witnessed, wholly weaned him from peared to be too much to be left to the slave States, the weak pages of the states of Missouri and Louisiana, and in the Territory of Arkansas. Even this fragment appeared to be too much to be left to the slave States, the weakness of his form of pride. His faults after his conversion run in the same vein with those to the lindians; and the slaveholders, with the to the Indians; and the slaveholders, with the and and of our moral being. But, beside this necessary of our moral being. But, beside this necessary and unavoidable deterioration of the sinning it. The slightest help from Mr. Calhoun which showed that territory and those salt springs, read to be visited by the sure reaction of our geance has expired. It is this consequential or reactive penalty of crime that Mrs. S. most prominently illustrates in the history of General Dent, and it is to show the terrible truth, that "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," in despite of repentance and amendments she points the moral of her store. "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," in despite of repentance and amendment, she points the moral of her story. In him, treachery and infidelity are punished after reformation, by those effects which his own change of character and product of the United States: he became the favorite ter could not control. In Juliette, who does not repent, the passions are, with like justice, made

The Laporte critic, mistaking the various method of this moral retribution, contradicts, in his way, the assertion that appropriate punishment is slave soil. I told him all this in my first Calhoumac, in the Senate of the United States, four days after as old as eternity, as immutable as God." Beas old as eternity, as immutable as God." Because the righteous perish and no man regardeth it, while the wicked flourish like a green baytree; because Dives in his lifetime had his good things, and Lazarus his evil things, our objector forgets that, after all the is hard; that there is no peace to the wicked; and that the righteous, though having nothing, yet possess all things. He has not looked into this matter from the right point, nor can we just now afford him the necessary assistance. To us it seems clear enough, that though the man who has only a creed and a distant heaven may doubt the hostitude of Christian heaven may doubt the beatitudes of Christian holiness, the man who has a God, cannot. And it seems just as clear that the beggar at the rich man's gate, no more than in Abraham's bosom, could have changed places and conditions with him, without loss as great,

comparatively, in time as in eternity.

But the objection is, perhaps, not more to what
the proposition directly asserts, than to some latent consequences which may follow it. Perhaps the critic imagines that this doctrine of present retribution is intended to insinuate their suffi-ciency in the way of penalty or atonement and satisfaction for the sins which they attend. But Mrs. Southworth has no such controversial kinks in her reasoning. The moral retribution which she affirms, and in some of its aspects illustrates, stretches necessarily through the whole existence of the nature to which it attaches, and makes the hell of the future as it inflicts that of the present The critic need have no fears on this account. If the penalty is suffered here, it still runs on, under the law out of which it arises, forever with the sin it punishes, and does not logically exclude any other or additional infliction which he may insist upon besides. The world to come is not disturbed by it in any way, and we very much need the benefit of it here. Oh! we greatly need to be taught that the soul grows by its own activities in good and in evil—that it takes per-

nd the vices sap our life-spring, through a law that is not repealed by the system of remedial It is granted, so far as the reactive retributions of sin are concerned, that not every man falls into He said, in his reply to mereaps in form the precise mischief which he sows. Tale-bearing, slander, licentiousness, do not receive in punishment the same kind of evil which they inflict; their harvest is not like the seed, but still it is its natural yield of retributive suffering. So, avarice may be punished either by its own horrible cravings which cannot be glutted, the loss of the idolized wealth, or the loss of all the good which its pursuit excludes, or all together; or it may be repaid in the hatred and direct revenge of its victims. But, in appropriate ways, every evil affection, every vicious act, is brought to judgment under the law of this inevitable moral

infidelity in her story eminently fulfils the requirements of its justice—it is at once naturally and poetically adjusted. I may make, if you like, the subject of moral and religious instruction through the machinery of fictitious narrative (to which our critic also ob-

Southworth metes out to treachery and conjugal

Allow me to add, that while agreeing with your correspondent in nothing else, I agree with him most perfectly in his admiration and commendation of the National Era.

COL. BENTON'S SPEECH TO THE PEOPLE OF MISSOURI.

Delivered in the Capitol, at Jefferson City, May 26, 1848. [CONCLUDED.]

on every side of every question it ever touched. I quote it for a very different purpose, for the pur-pose of shutting up the mouths of his followers as present, he has never mentioned his resolutions! never called for that vote upon them which he declared himself determined to have when he introduced them.

abolishing slavery in the world. Holding, as he to answer him in the Senate, and it will not do to then did, the one-fifth part of the Veto power, and allow him to take a snap-judgment upon me in commanding as his position was, as a Southern Missouri, and carry disunion resolutions in my man and a Cabinet Minister—a leading Cabinet own State, which he has been forced to abandon Minister—the largest question ever started of in the Senate. Duty to the country requires me free or slave soil was then in his hands; and he decided it in favor of free. It was an immense that public duty. He has been instigating atand ardent; but it was not the only service which stood by Jackson and the Union in the first he then rendered them. Texas was then oursa part of Louisiana—to the lower Rio Grande— graph commenced upon me at the same time i did upon Jackson, and for the same cause—be as the natural outlet of the Southern States, with their great increasing slave population. It was given to the King of Spain—given away by treaty—and that treaty the work of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet - Mr. Calhoun being a member. And here there is no room for denial, or non-recollecof that cession. A friend of Mr. Calhoun re-proached him with it in the House of Representatives. Mr. Adams was then alive, and present and soon vindicated the truth of history. He showed that there was a division in the Cabinet upon the point: he was against it—Mr. Calhoun for it—and Mr. Calhoun, being a Southern man, and the majority of the Cabinet Southern, he carried the day—and Texas was lost. I was not then in public life, but I wrote against that act, blaming forum of our respective States was deemed the Mr. Adams, when I should have blamed Mr. Calhoun. By that cession the expansion of slavery

them except the fragment which was contained in the States of Missouri and Louisiana, and in the peared to be too much to be left to the slave States, and a slice forty miles wide, and three hundred miles long, was cut off from Arkansas, and given to the Indians; and the slaveholders, with the slaves upon the slice, were required to remove from the cut off part, and fall back within the contracted limits. This was done by Indian treaty—the treaty negotiated by a protegé of Mr. Calhoun. He was then Vice President of the United States. of the North—beating even Mr. Adams himself on the Free Soil track. He beat him six yotes in New York, ran head and neck with him through repent, the passions are, with like justice, made their own punishment. In the General's case, the vengeance comes from without; in Juliette's, it was likely better the law employs the re-Mr. Adams in abolition States—and with justice. He had done more than him for free soil, and

to show him to be the true anthor of the Mexican war. This is what I then said to him:

"This conduct of the Senator, in giving away Texas when we had her, and then making war to get her back, is an enigma which he bas never yet condescended to explain, and which, until explained, leaves him in a state of self-contradiction, which, whether it impairs his own confidence in himself or not, must have the effect of destroying the confidence of others in him, and wholly disjunalifes him for the office of champion of the slaveholding States. It was the heaviest blow they had ever received, and put an end, in conjunction with the Missouri Compromise, and the permanent location of the Indians west of the Mississippi, to their future growth or extension as slave States beyond the Mississippi. The Compromise, which was then in full progress, and established at the next session of Congress, out off the slave States from all territory north and west of Missouri, and south of thirty-six and a half degrees of north latitude. The treaty of Isi9 ceded nearly all south of that degree, comprehending not only all Texas, but a large part of the valley of the Mississippi on the Red river and the Arkansas, to a foreign Power, and brought a non-slaveholding empire to the confines of Louislana and Arkansas. The permanent appropriation of the rest of the territory for the abode of civilized Indians swept the little slaveholding territory west of Arkansas, and left the slave States without one inch of ground for their future growth. Nothing was left. Even the then Territory of Arkansas was encreached upon. A breadth of forty miles wide and three hundred long was cut off from her, and given to the Cherokees; and there was not as much slave territory left, west of the Mississippi, as a dove could have rested the sole of her foot upon. It was not merely a curtailment, but a total extinction of Texas, and ceding a part of the valley of the Mississippi, was then the most efficient ally of the gesting up as the champion of the slave States in

activities in good and in evil—that it takes permanently the character of its acts—that its loves and hatreds grow into its life—that habit is strict—tering for Free Soil votes. He was forced to anly a second nature—and that every act and feeling leave their spirit and tendency behind them in the heart; in a word, that the virtues nourish in the heart; in a word, that the virtues nourish

"I have now met, and I trust successfully repelled, all the charges made by the Senator from Missouri, except thes relating to the Missouri compromise, and the Abolition question at that period, for which I am in no way responsible. was not then in Congress. I filled the office of Secretary of War at the time, and had no agency or control over it."

This was his answer—the whole that he chose to give. I did not then know of the proofs of the Cabinet consultation, and of his opinion at the council table in answer to Mr. Monroe's two ques tions. The proofs had not then come to light, and he was safe, for the time, in disclaiming all responsibility for the Missouri Compromise, and the consequent abolition of slavery by a law of Congress in upwards of one-half of all Louisians retribution; and the punishment which Mrs. He was safe in taking refuge under the declaration that he was Secretary of War, and not a member of Congress, and, consequently, had no agency in this act, or any control over it. This was a plausible answer at the time, and he stood acquitted for the moment. The discovery of the proofs the next year (1848) reverses the acquitof fictitious narrative (to which our critical and our critical acts) by the theme of another homily; but I close now with my earnest thanks to Mrs. S. for her bility for it. True, he was not a member of Congress in 1820, to give a vote amounting to but a control over it, and his respectively. against the Missouri Compromise; but he was a Cabinet minister, to give a heavy vote, one in five, for or against its approval. He was not a part of the Legislative power, but he was of the veto power, and he gave his vote for the approval, and against the veto. This shows that he had agency in the question, and control over it, and is responsible for it. Considering his position as a Southern man, and his weight in Mr. Monroe's Administration, and he is the responsible man for that act. The majority of the Cabinet were Southern, and if he had made the stand then I do not quote this conduct of Mr. Calhoun, in giving the answer which he did to Mr. Monroe's interrrogatories, for the purpose of vindicating the right of Congress to prohibit or abolish slavery in Territories. When I feel it necessary to vindicate that right, I shall have recourse to very different authority from that which can be quoted to the slave States, for which nullification, dispute the state of the constitution, and an insult to the slave States, for which nullification, dispute the state of the constitution, and an insult to the slave States, for which nullification, dispute the state of the slave states. union, and civil war, are the proper remedies! I am mortified to dwell upon Mr. Calhoun It is neither my habit nor my pleasure to spea completely as it shut up his own from the day he was confronted with it. From that day to the in Congress, I have never brought the name of any man before the public. I am now forced to do it. Mr. Calhoun's resolutions are those of the is copied from the other. When the original is invalidated, the copy is of no avail. I am answer-

was so potential, to the abolition of slavery over a million of square miles in Louisiana, Mr. Calhoun did more than any one man has ever done towards mover and head contriver. I have had no chance Missouri, and carry disunion resolutions in my cause we stood by the Union! Last summer, in his own State of South Carolina, where I never was, he dragged my name and that of General Houston before his constituents, and denounced us in a public speech, and held us up to public reprobation. He accused us of defection to the South—the interpretation being that we would vention, to array one-half of the Union against the other, and form a Southern Confederacy. It men, and who, as Senators, were entitled to Senatorial courtesy from him. Neither General Houston nor myself thought it right to suffer such an attack to pass with impunity; but we did not think the floor of the Senate the proper place for proper place. He had assailed us before his constituents, and we determined to answer him be was stopped; the growth of slave States in the fore ours. General Houston has replied. He did so during the past session of Congress, in a published address to his constituents. It was published address to

meant, and then carried the war into Afri ca. He charged him with his designs against the Union for twenty years past, and supported what he said by an array of facts, which could neither be explained away nor denied. That address of Houston's should be republished by the papers friendly to the Union. It is full of truth and patriotism, worthy of the disciple of Jackson, and

I read this extract to Mr. Calhoun, in the Sen ate of the United States, in February, 1847—four days after his firebrand resolutions were introed. He said he did not write it. I know he duced. He said he did not write it. I know he did not. Neither did he write the papers of the A. B. plot against Mr. Crawford, nor the resolutions of the last Missouri General Assembly. He is no such bungler as that. When a paw is to go into the fire, he prefers that of any cat, or dog, to his own. But he was Secretary of State under Tyler at the time, and had dominion over three hundred newspapers to each of which the same hundred newspapers, to each of which the same instructions were issued. They were intended for their guidance in the Presidential election, and in the State elections of 1844; and especially for my own, which was coming on. I only read the extract which is special to myself. How well the extract which is special to myself. How well the instructions were obeyed, was seen in this State, and in other States, and in all the presses and politicians which followed the lead of "our leading friend at the South." Benton—Clay—Whigs—Texas. Harp upon these strings, and harp they did, until the strings were worn out, and then the harps were hung upon the willows. Now a new a set of strings are furnished, and from the same "leading friend at the South," and the music recommences to the old tune set to new words. Benton—Whigs—Abolition—Wilmot Proviso—are now the strings, and harp away is again the word! And harp away they will, the old performers and the new ones, until the drooping performers and the new ones, until the drooping willows shall again claim the appendage of their

tuneless instruments. I owe an apology to General Jackson's memory for reading a letter in which he is quoted against me. It was unjust to him, and would have been mortifying to see his name quoted against one of his best friends by one of his greatest enemies. I never mortified his feelings by letting him know that I had heard how his name had been used; but when near his end, I sent him a kind message by Major Lewis, which he returned in the most affectionate terms, and which I think it right here to repeat. After giving an account of his

This is my second personal reason for dwelling on Mr. Calhoun. It is to repel his attacks upon me. Public duty, in the Senate of the United States, would have required me to reply to his resolutions, if he had ever called them up there. Their passage through the Missouri Legislature makes it still more my duty to do so. These resolutions are his, copied from his, with such exactitude of ideas, that some transposition of clauses, and some variation of phrase, can deceive no one. It only betrays a design to disguise, where dis-

guise is impossible. I have read the original. Here is the copy: "RESOLUTIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY "Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Missuri, That the Federal Constitution was the result of a comomise between the conflicting interests of the States which

rights of Congress over Territories of the Union in relation to slavery," and were introduced into the Senate February, 1847. Those of the Missouri Legislature were entitled "Resolutions in relation to slavery," and were introduced December, 1848—the phica of both the control of the state o the object of both the same—to deny the right of Congress to prevent or prohibit slavery in Territories, and to denounce a dissolution of the Union if it did. One was parent to the other, and I presume no man will deny it. And here I make the exception which truth and justice requires from me. I have no idea that the mass of quires from me. I have no idea that the mass of the members who voted for the resolutions in the last General Assembly had any idea that they were Calhoun's, or considered the dissolution of the Union which they announced as a thing in actual contemplation. But they are not the less injurious on that account. They are the act of the General Assembly, and stand for the act of the State, and bind it to the car of Mr. Calhoun, and encourage him more than any event that has and encourage him more than any event that has taken place. But they are not the sense of the State, nor even the sense of all the members who voted for them. The true sense of the State, and I doubt not of a large majority of the members of the last Legislature, was faithfully expressed in the resolves and instructions of the previous not only in the letter, but in the spirit. These

the Compromise line on one side, and the Texas the Missouri Compromise act. He did well in cession on the other, was open to the formation of two respectable slave States. Mr. Calhoun was

ion of the World

most fatal internal dissensions.

was carried on in several ways:

ness among them by the distribution of food.

oppressed by war taxes, that the great had full

selves, and incorporating them with their posses

the attractions offered to emigrants to Rome, by

exemption from imposts and distributions of

These Optimates immediately threw a slave

opulation on the estates thus abandoned, and

thereby secured two objects-fit tools for their

ambitious purposes at Rome, and the wealth ne-

essary to manage them. "These Optimates," says

another historian, "accumulated their wealth in

the provinces, and at home amused and corrupted

states of the small landed proprietors, to whom

had acquired immense tracts of land, which were

cultivated by hordes of slaves; while a large class

wandering about in the country, with their wives

quiet and degradation of agricultural life, would

too often abandon their farms for the battle-field-

creep into the list of citizens."

All classes of citizens were carried away by the

bloody spirit of war and conquest. The poorer

Romans, levied into the ermy of the Republic.

could think of nothing but battles and triumphal

THE TERMS.

We again call the attention of our readers to the following extract from the "Terms" of the Era:
"Every subscriber renewing his subscription, and sending

A subscriber sends us five dollars for three new subscribers, and thinks he carries out the spirit of the proposition Undoubtedly. A postmaster, not a subscriber, also sends us three new subscribers on the same terms, presuming that we will not object. Certainly not. The only difference between these cases, and those in which subscribers pay their moneys to agents, is, that in the former the subscribers secure themselves the benefit of the commission. This does not interfere with our regular agents, but rather helps them, by multiplying our readers, and thus extending the field for

We hope each subscriber, as his subscription runs out, will bear in mind that, by a little exertion, he may secure two new subscribers, and supply himself and them for five

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JUNE 21, 1849.

WANTED.

who have copies of numbers 110 and 113, will do us a favor by sending them to our address. EXTRA NUMBERS

Of the Era, containing Mr. Benton's speech, and Fisher's Lecture, with the reply to it, can be obtained by application at our office. Those ordering them to be sent by mail, shall have them at three cents a-piece. They are sterling documents for circulation in the South.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RUNNING OUT.

Adhering strictly to the cash system, which obliges us to cut off all subscribers, as the times for which they have paid, expire, unless they renew their subscriptions, it is important to remind them from time to time, of the necessity of compliance with our rule, so that they may escape annoyance, and we suffer as little loss as possible

Last year, during the summer months, owing to the deep interest felt in the Presidential canvass, we received large accessions of subscribers. Their terms are now from week to week running out, of which they are duly notified through the bills sent to them. We suppose the great majority of them are intending to renew; but, unless their attention be called to the subject, very many will delay an operation which would not take them five minutes, till their names are erased, and then not a few will put off renewing, from time to time, till they give up all idea of it.

Now, we have no notion of losing them so easily; and no false delicacy shall restrain us from appealing to them in behalf of themselves, ourselves, and the Cause we deem vital to the best interests

We are anxious that they should renew their subscriptions promptly. The cause of Free Soil and Free Principles is not yet triumphant. Its enemies are powerful and crafty, and certainly calculate upon the Administration to favor their designs. The acts and motives of its adherents nius are misrepresented and vilified. By the Whig and Democratic organs here, at the seat of Government, they are held up to reprobation as factious, hypocritical, incendiary - conspirators against the peace of the Union. Demagogues are striving to cheat the people into the delusion that the struggle is over, the question settled, so that further agitation is unnecessary. Be not deceived. There is no indication that the slaveholders will abandon their ground—that the slaveholding members of Congress will give up a contest which has become with them a matter of pride, as it is of interest-that the members of Congress from free States will need any less watching and prompting, on the great question of slavery. Let the friends of Freedom relax their efforts, grow lakewarm, indifferent to the dissemination of the 'old fellows' to get off the stage. So, he looks round again—and he sees in the streets of Rome

We do not hesitate, then, to ask all our subscribers to renew their subscriptions. They will get back more than the worth of their money; Benton's speech is worth a whole year's subscription—so is the masterly refutation of Fisher's Folly. They will keep their convictions clear, And let us here say, he was a much greater man, their feelings warm; they will supply their respective neighborhoods with facts and arguments in favor of free principles; they will do us good by strengthening our hands, and do good to the Cause which they profess to regard as vital by sustaining vigorously the only press at the seat of the Federal Government, which maintains its ed. (not Governmental patronage) for existence.

A few of our friends have begun to respond to the circular we addressed them two weeks since, soliciting their aid in extending the subscription list of the Era. Thanks for their promptitude. Others, we hope, will soon lay us under similar obligations. It is extremely difficult to secure the services of the right kind of agents; so that we are obliged, to a great extent, to trust to the personal effort of such of our patrons as feel an interest in the welfare of the

DEATH OF MR. POLK.

last evening, announcing the melancholy news of the decease of Ex-President Polk, at Nashville, on the 15th instant. We were prepared for this mournful intelligence by a despatch received yesterday morning, which represented the state of the Ex-President as almost hopeless.

National Intelligencer. Mr. Polk had been sick for some time, with bilious fever, it is said. His constitution was much shaken by his four years' arduous labors in the Presidential office. This is no time to comment upon the policy of his Administration, but, whatever differences of opinion may prevail, few will deny that he was a man of great nerve, remarkable firmness, and aptness for governing, and that his brief Administration of four years, in activity, in energy, and in magnitude of events, is unsurpassed in our history.

"THE REPUBLIC,"

The first number of "The Republic," the new Whig paper in this city, appeared Wednesday of last week. Its dimensions are the same as those of the Intelligencer. It is under the editorial control of A. C. BULLITT and JOHN. O. SAR-GENT, and published by Gideon & Co., at \$10 a year; Weekly, at \$2. The editors have had much experience, are gentlemen of talent and tact, and the publishers are men of capital and enterprise. The new paper announces that it starts "at a point which is usually reached by public journals after a long career of difficulty and doubt."

The editors take their ground upon the dectrines of the Alison Letters, and will do battle for the Administration ably, if not successfully.

DEATH OF CASSIUS M. CLAY.

We know not when we have been more shocked and deeply pained, than on reading, last Monday morning, the following Telegraphic despatch from

"A Telegraphic despatch from Louisville states that at a public discussion in Madison county, Ky., on Friday last, a rencontre took place be-tween Cassius M. Clay and Joseph Turner, which resulted in the death of both parties. Having first snapped pistols at each other, they came into close ters with bowie knives. Mr. Clay was stabbed through the heart, after having mortally wounded Mr. Turner in the abdomen and groin. The latter is since dead."

it is stated that the subject of discussion was and doubtless he looks upon Niebuhr and Schlosadvocate of perpetualism. We do not believe formers, but real enemies of all established knowthat Mr. Clay was the assailant. The custom of ledge. his State, his principles, and his whole training,

that he would ever raise his hand in ruffianly

But he was always frank, manly, great-hearted. have been great and unintermitted, and eminent-His name was seldom in the papers—he seemed to care little for the honor that man might award. found interest attracted by his moderation, calm energy, and the conciliation without compromise, that marked his conduct. Little did we dream that his end would come so soon, and by violence. But he could not have fallen in a nobler cause. renew their vows of perpetual war against a syspationists has fallen a victim.

SULPHUR AND CHOLERA.

The papers have been filled lately with several notices of a discovery by Dr. Bird, of Chicago, of the specific remedial power of sulphur in cholera. It is said that the presence of ozone in the atmosphere is always coincident with the spread of epidemic influenza and cholera. This lement, led the Doctor to try it in some cases in Chicago. The results, he reports, were in all cases, most satisfactory. He gives three grains of sulphur, and one grain of powdered charcoal, in combination, every two, three, or four hours, as the case may demand. Everybody is now talking of the new specific. As usual, doctors disagree-some believing, some denouncing. Theory cannot settle the question. The new remedy should have a fair trial; but in a disease so rapid in its course, people will hesitate before they trust their all to this alone.

LAND LIMITATION-SOME HISTORICAL FACTS.

"Mr. Greeley, in his late lecture, is reported in one of the papers to have said, that Land Re-form was an idea of the nineteenth century! That it had been tried in the Hebrew Commonwealth, but not since. If this were true, the example of the Hebrew Commonwealth, in regard to civil laws, is nothing in its favor. That Common wealth was established in a barbarous state of society, and has long since, as a civil society, been

"But, what is meant by saying that this Land Reform is an idea of the nineteenth century? Our Reformers, if they say this, are a very ungrateful people. Having borrowed their main idea from one of the most accomplished dema-gogues of Rome, the least they could do, is some-times to acknowledge their obligations to his ge-

This very idea of Land Limitation, as it is stated by the reporters to have been uttered by Mr. Greeley on Saturday night, is the identical the people. Tiberius Gracchus was one of those Roman heroes, of whom the world has talked much, and known very little. He was one of the two sons of Cornelia, and descendants of Scipio Africanus. Like a great many young lawyers in our country, and a great many that are not lawyers, he took it into his head that it was his vocation to be a 'great man.' How was it to be done? He looked to the Senate, and it was filled with the Conscript Fathers of the Republic. They were called Patricians—a name derived from Patheir views, leave their journals to carry on the a great many poor people. Some of them were conflict, without encouragement—and they will very worthy people; and there were mixed in many without land, and some vagabonds, pickpockets, and drunkards. Now here was, at that
time, an unoccupied theatre of action; and Tibeher and nower bare the heaviest burdens of the rius Gracchus sprung into the ranks of what he called 'the people' (as if other citizens were not people)—a great reformer, a prodigious philan-thropist—a divider of lands and inheritances! in every way, a man of more genius, of more energy, and of more truth, than any of the Paines. the Fourriers, and the Proudhons, of the nine-

"The Roman Republic had an officer called the Tribune of the People, who was a sort of popular representative of the poorer tribes of the several classes into which the Roman voters were divid-To this office Mr. Tiberius Gracchus got claims, and depends solely upon popular support | himself elected, that he might commence, first of all, his great Land Reform. Let us describe Tiberius and his Land Reform, as he appeared, at this crisis of his life, in the language of a histo-

rian:
" Tiberius possessed every accomplishment for a popular leader; a bold and intrepid mind, inflexible perseverance, and a nervous and copious elocution. An enthusiast by nature, it is not impossible, however warped by prejudice, that he had actually persuaded himself that his views were virtuous and patriotic. Being elected a Tribune of the People, his first motion was to propose a revival of an ancient statute, the Licinian law, which prohibited any Roman citizen possessing above five hundred jugera, or about two hundred and sixty acres of land?

Now, we see that this thing of Land Reform A telegraphic despatch was received in the city ast evening, announcing the melancholy news of what Land and Land Reform were. She had her

very poor, and very rich people.

"Mark! In her meak and barbarous state, the Licinian law of land limitation was passed; and that law, which in a state of civilization had become a nullity, the demagogue Tiberius now sought to revive. He succeeded. Tiberius was now the great reformer of the Romans! The land limitation was carried, and the victorious Tribune stood forth the glorious hero on the Roman stage But laurels like those are never gathered the others also. Triumphant in his reform, h proposed another. He proposed to divide the public lands, heretofore administered by the Senate, among the poor classes of the people. Here is another idea of the nineteenth century land reformers, which they fondly dandle as one of their legitimate children, when it is nothing more

"Let us follow Tiberius Gracchus, Esq., in his career of philanthropy. The Senate appealed to the people also, and they had a great deal more practical talent and weight than Gracchus had. Genius and eloquence are things that shine more than they avail, when they are opposed against the property, order, interest, and good sense of mankind. The people would not support a man who was overturning society, and establishing a despotism. The very populace deserted him!

"He walked into the streets, dressed in mournthe year 336 B. C., in carrying three measures, ing, with his children on his hands, beseeching the protection of the people. Alas! Fallen was the Tribune of the People! Alas! in vair Fallen the great Roman Land Reformer! His friends rallied round him; but he and three hundred of paid off by three annual instalments; secondly, his followers perished in the streets of Rome, bethat no one should be allowed to possess more neath the blows of staves and bludgeons. Their dead bodies were rolled into the Tiber.

"We see in this, that the precise ideas now adopted by a few self-styled reformers, are exactly the ideas adopted by the greatest demagogues of Rome. Whether there is anything in the example particularly inviting to the students of Reform in these times, we leave others to determine. Whether there is anything specially worthy of admiration and imitation by American young men in the life and career of Tiberius Gracchus, we leave them to say. One thing is certain, Roman reformers, whatever may have been their motives or their objects, were, in fact, the means of dividing the Roman people, till the republic was destroyed, and an imperial despotism reëstablished in its place."—Cin. Atlas.

rial in the Cincinnati Atlas of May 23d, the author is reputed to be a man of education. He seems

The foregoing is the larger portion of an edito-

would lead him to defend himself by every means was one of those Roman heroes, of whom the landless. in his power against violence, but there is nothing | world has talked much and known very little"n his character or history to warrant the belief and the editor of the Atlas is no exception to the

ancient or modern, or of a great public move- men, and laid the foundation of her future great- for the Tribuneship, and, in defiance of the fierce take part." ment, than is furnished in the extract just quoted, ness. Poor Clay! he has fallen a victim to that brutal code which is always associated with slavehold- we have rarely seen. Gracchus, and the refailed sometimes to see clearly the consequences | Land Reformers of our times contemplate, first, | the ground of their alleged tendency to divide | and P. Mucius Scavola, the illustrious jurist, | of his own principles—he had been unable at all the inalienable homestead; secondly, land limita- society into classes, and engender ill feeling among seconded his efforts, though they knew they would times to live out his own convictions of right. tion; thirdly, the appropriation of the public them. Rome was already divided, not so much suffer loss from the success of the movement. He lands in limited quantities to actual settlers, who into classes as into castes deeply embittered against He loved the cause of Freedom and Popular are landless. It was not limitation on the acqui-Rights; he always held himself ready to sacrifice | sition of private property, by individual industry, himself upon its altar. For a long time past, his | that the Roman Tribune wished to enact. What labors in behalf of Emancipation in his own State | he proposed was, to prohibit any person from holding more than five hundred jugera of the public ly successful. With a modesty which showed domain, to reclaim all of this domain beyond this that his better nature had resumed its ascenden- amount in each case, from the usurping landholdcy, he was content to work without noise or parade. ers who had monopolized it, and to divide it in limited quantities among the myriads of landless freemen, whom land monopoly and slave labor We have been watching his course with pro- had dispossessed of property, deprived of work, and reduced to starvation and crime.

Tiberius Gracchus, and Caius, his brother, were among the most virtuous, most heroic, most and to the growth of other distinctions in the public spirited men of whom Rome could boast. If there be in Roman history characters whom Subscribers, who do not file their papers, and Over his grave the friends of Freedom should our young men may admire without danger, and imitate without dishonor, they are those "dematem, to the false maxims and bloody spirit of gogues," as they are denominated by the Atlas. which the most chivalrous of Kentucky Emanci- Noble in descent, being the grandsons of the elder Scipio, and brothers-in-law of the younger Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, their aristocratic birth, education, and associations, could not stifle their sympathies for the people, or impair their regard for popular rights. To the example of their father, Tiberius Gracchus, who had rendered himself universally beloved in Spain by his justice and humanity, and to the training of their illustrious mother, Cornelia, renowned above Roman women "for her intellect, her greatness fact, and the fact that sulphur neutralizes this of soul, her affection, and the refinement of her manners," they owed the high intelligence, sound principles, and humane sympathies, which elevated them above their order, and enabled them to embrace all the members of the Common-

> wealth in their patriotism. The manner in which the Atlas speaks of Tiberius Gracchus is equally flippant and heartless, and in the judgment he passes upon the motives | Monopoly received a new impulse. This process of that great man, he is unsupported by any au-

He was no more ambitious than any other no-

ble Roman; and his ambition was neither hasty

nor dishonorable. That he felt any jealousy of

the Senate, and was impatient for "the old fellows

to get off the stage," is a mere invention of the

Atlas, just about as veracious as the novel information that the Senate "was filled with the Conscript Fathers of the Republic," and that "they were called Patricians." The editor of the Atlas forgets that the distinction between Patrician and Plebeian had been effaced; that the old patrician families were almost extinct; that numerous plebeian families had become illustrious; that all offices were filled indiscriminately by both orders; that the aristocracy was chiefly composed of wealthy and distinguished plebeians; that there was a greater number of them in the Senate than of patricians; and that this body was under the control of the Optimates, the illustres, that is, the nobles, as distinguished from the great mass of the common people (obscuri) Nor was Gracchus "a Patrician himself;" he was a Plebeian Noble, and proposed by Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of all the offices of the Republic were open to his ambition. While we are correcting the mistakes and caricatures of the Atlas, we may as well point out

> education to write ignorantly, when they write the people, by the distribution of money or food, carelessly. "The Roman Republic had an officer," says the Atlas, "who was a sort of popular representative of the poorer tribes of the several the Republic originally owed her greatness, they classes into which the Roman voters were divided." A very classical description of an officer who, at the time of the Gracchi, possessed more power than any functionary of the Commonwealth-The Tribune originally was the guardian of popand children, not having a foot of land which ular rights. The Plebs was composed at first of the conquered Latins who had been brought to told that they were the lords of the earth." Rome, or had taken up their residence therethe subaltern officers, and all the privates, who sometimes gave up the occupation to become colonists, but, even then, growing disgusted with the

ber and power, bore the heaviest burdens of the

Commonwealth, fought its greatest battles. After

the death of Tarquinius, about five hundred years

against interference by the most stringent laws;

and by their veto, or right of intercession, stop

any act of a magistrate, or decree of the Senate

They continued to be the guardians of plebeian

rights, and representing the Democratic principle.

were the leaders in the continued struggle for

equality of privileges between all orders in the

State. In the days of the Gracchi, the distinction

between Plebeians and Patricians having been

merged in the more marked distinction between

the Optimates and the common or obscure people.

the Tribunes represented, of course, the common

alty, not alone "the poorer tribes," as the Atlas

says; and so far from being "a sort of popular

representatives," they were the most important

and powerful officers in the State; and to such an

extent was their authority exercised, that strenu-

ous efforts were made to impose restraints upon it

But what reform did Tiberius Gracchus pro-

pose? Why did he attempt it? What defeated

The capture of Rome by the Gauls seemed to

fill up the cup of her miseries. After their ex-

pulsion, she manifested but faint indications of

recuperative energy. The class of free citizens

was decreasing; the poor people under the laws of

debt were becoming degraded and enslaved; the

policy of a corrupt Oligarchy was fast conduct-

ing the city to ruin. It was evident that only the

most decisive measures, adapted to elevate the

People, and curtail the privileges of the Patri-

cians, could secure unity to the State, and infuse

new life into its members. To the genius and

courage of two tribunes of the Plebs, C. Licinius

Stolo and L. Sextius, later historians attribute

the salvation of Rome at this crisis. After a pro-

tracted struggle of ten years, they succeeded in

viz: That the amount of interest which debtors

the principal, and that the remainder should be

hundred small cattle; thirdly, that henceforth

consuls should be elected instead of consular tri-

bunes, and that one of the consuls should always

jugera by any private citizen, as the Atlas repre-

ited quantities, of actual settlers, who shall be

his plan!

a few more, to show how easy it is for even men of

Their property, of course, fell into the hands of before the birth of Christ, driven to desperation the grandees, and was soon replenished with by the patricians, they seceded, and took up their station on the Sacred Mount. The patricians 4. These optimates, land monopolists, slaveholdwere compelled to treat with them, and the most ers, (for they appear to have constituted one class,) important concession made was, the "institution resorted to a still more effectual measure. Pubof the Tribunes of the Plebs," the object being, to lic services, they held, entitled a man to use the afford protection to the plebeians against Consular State as his own property. oppression. The person of a tribune was sacred; he who committed violence upon him was declared an outlaw, and any one might kill him. The tribunes presided in the assemblies of the plebeian tribes; could bring before them any proposition they saw proper; could protect their own freedom

"In reliance on their relatives and friends," says Schlosser,) "who knew how to prevent inquiry, or, at least, to frustrate its objects, the men of importance took possession, at pleasure, of the public property (ager publicus) bordering on their possessions. They formed thereby, even in these times, the princely estates which swallowed up by degrees the little possessions of the small prorietors, who formed in fact the flower of the Italian race. Sometimes, indeed, as well with regard to similar abuses, as in reference to this. strong measures were taken, but we shall presently see that these were of little avail, and that, so early as the epoch of the demolition of Carthage, the depopulation of Italy had reached dreadful extent, through the use of the land for the purposes and profits of the great families, as well as through its cultivation by slaves."

We have seen how the land provision of the Code of Licinius became a dead letter-how the distinctions of extreme wealth and extreme poverty were produced-how Land Monopoly sprang up with Labor Monopoly, or Slavery-how they aggravated each other, and worked together for the depopulation of Italy, the debasement of the Roman people, and their division into castesand how the spirit and policy of War and Conall these evils, if it did not give birth to them.

We are now prepared to answer the question-What reform did Tiberius Gracchus propose? The effect," says the historian so often quoted, of the increase of slaves, and of their employment, instead of free laborers, struck Tiberius Gracchus so much in a journey through Italy, that, as he afterwards expressly declared, he was led by this fact alone to entertain the thought of a new division of property." Or, in the language of another historian, "It is said that on his march to Spain, as he passed through the fertile country of Etruria, his just indignation was raised by the sight of numberless slaves in chains, who cultivated the extensive estates of the wealthy aristocrats, while thousands of the free citizens were the wealthiest and most respectable citizens, and gave a serious blow to the power of the senate. had paid up to that time should be deducted from | pining in poverty. His pure and noble soul was seized with a deep-felt sympathy for suffering humanity, which led him, after his return to Spain, to try the only remedy that seemed yet practica-

than five hundred jugera of the public land, or keep upon it more than one hundred large, and five The reform, then, proposed by this noble Ronan was, to abate Slavery, to check depopulation, to secure land and employment for landless freemen, to save Rome from the gulf of ruin towards be a plebeian. The first measure could be excused which Land Monopoly, Slave Labor, Luxury, only by an appeal to the cruel nature of the law of and the spirit of caste, were fast driving her; and the only remedy he proposed at first, the remedy debt among the Romans, and the dreadful condition to which poverty and debt had reduced the which incensed the Optimates against him, was, State. The other measures speak for themselves. the reclamation of the public domain from the They were demanded by justice, by the principle grandees who had seized it in violation of law, of popular right, by sound policy. The law relat- and the distribution of limited portions of it, according to law, among landless citizens. This is ing to land did not touch private property, did not the reform, this the remedy, which an American prohibit the possession of more than five hundred editor denounces as "against the property, order, sents. It was not Land Limitation, as defined by of which, we presume, is the senior editor, who our Land Reformers, nor did it embrace all that tempt at "overturning society and establishing a they now propose by their doctrine in relation to Despotism." It is honest and orderly for the to take for granted, that all he read in his school-to take for granted, that all he read in his school-to take for granted, that all he read in his school-tow days in abridged histories of Rome is true.

The Licinian law simply de-the public lands, to she was ever engaged in. We cannot here follow up all the measures which C. Gracchus actually We have not yet learned the particulars, but boy days, in abridged histories of Rome, is true, prived the patrician landholder of the surplus of swindle the smaller proprietors out of their posthe public domain he held over five hundred jugera, sessions, to impoverish and brutalize the common Emancipation, and that Mr. Turner was an ser as apocryphal authorities, would-be-great Re- It did not secure this amount exclusively to land. people, but it is a flagrant offence against order less persons. Our Land Reformers insist that the and law, to compel the wealthy thieves to restore

> and the oppressed their legal rights! How did this heroic reformer act? The Licin-The Licinian laws, passed though they were in | ian Law had never been repealed, and he simply the weak and barbarous days of Rome, emanated | determined that it should be enforced. To carry | lie land, and founded several colonies in Italy, in

> remark. A more ridiculous caricature of a hero, from her most enlightened and far-seeing states- into effect this measure, he became a candidate opposition of the privileged classes, was tri-

> > brought forward his bill enforcing the Licinian each other, and the policy of Licinius was in- Law, modifying it, however, so as to occasion as tended to remedy this very evil. That it proved little loss as possible to the usurpers of the pubeffective, so long as it was maintained, is demon- lic domain. He showed no disregard of public strated by the fact, that it finally obliterated the order, no inclination towards extravagant measdistinctions between Patrician and Plebeian, and ures. This bill provided that any man, having produced that unity and equality in the Common- | two sons, might enjoy 250 jugera for each of them, Italy, the destruction of Carthage, and the domin-But, it was precisely this concentration of her energies in military enterprise that led to the practical nullification of the Licinian Land Law,

wealth, through which she was enabled to con- beyond the 500 to which he was entitled under the centrate all her energies for the subjugation of | Licinian Law; that the buildings which had been erected upon the usurped public domain should be valued, and the value paid to the owner out of the public treasury. Here certainly was evinced a respect for property. It was further provided, that the distribution of the surplus and unassigned public land in equal portions among the poor body politic which no portion of the Licinian should be conducted by a permanent college of code could prevent, and which resulted in the three men, the lots assigned to each being incapable of transfer by purchase or sale. Another provision of the law was, that "employment should be given to a certain proportion of Freemen, as shepherds and herdsmen, as well as husbandmen?

> If this bill stamped Tiberius Gracchus as a demagogue, then "Demagogue" is the fit desig-

processions. The smaller landholders, obliged to neglect their farms, soon found it convenient to nation of every wise and magnanimous statesman. part with them to their richer neighbors. The The Senatorial party resorted to the most innumber of slaves by conquest was rapidly augfamous measures to defeat him. They libelled his mented. Lower Italy being subdued, the transmotives; they charged him with harboring the marine Grecian States were next overrun, and design of kingly power; they stirred up rebellion they furnished slaves who knew how at once to against him, by lies and bribes; they resorted to the old device of seducing one of his colleagues. please and corrupt their masters. The subjuga-M. Octavius, so as to secure a veto upon his tion of a ruder people, the Lucanians and Buttians, supplied them with a very different class movements. Octavius would have been a loser by the bill, and Gracchus freely offered to make of slaves. These provoked to cruelty, and degood his loss out of his own estate. The selfish graded labor; while the Grecian slaves, by the tribune was stubborn; and at last the reformer pernicious arts of Oriental sensualism, debauched appealing to the People, had him deprived of his their possessors. The contempt of the Roman office. The bill became a law without further people for human nature became a fixed habit opposition. He soon brought in another bill, to their recklessness of human rights, was aggravated. The process of Depopulation and Land divide the treasures which King Attalus had bequeathed to the Roman People, among those who had received assignments of lands, so as to enable them to supply themselves with cattle and the 1. For a long time before the period of the implements of husbandry. Others say, that the Gracchi, no portion of the domain land of the bill proposed its distribution among those for public had been distributed among the citizens: whom no land could be provided. He contemthe grandees amused the people with triumphal plated other measures designed to limit the almos processions, gladiatorial shows, and fostered idledespotic power of the Senate, or aristocratical 2. "So early as the middle Punic war," says body, to secure the right of appeal from that body to the People, and to limit the time that Schlosser, "the poorer and middle classes were so

These were all wise and important measures pportunity of purchasing many estates for themsuch as every true friend of popular rights, and foe of privileged classes must approve. The sions. This impoverishment of the lower and middling classes of Italian burghers, in the inter- | American who sneers at them, as Demagogueism, minable wars whereby the Optimates became is an American, not in heart, but merely by the enormously wealthy and all powerful, as well as chance of birth.

citizens should be obliged to serve in the army

But Rome was too far gone for redemption. The masses of her people were disunited, degradvictuals, induced even these, the burghers of the ed, debased. The Senatorial party had the power, municipal towns, to repair to Rome, in order to the wealth, the unity, the cunning. It bribed the corrupt-it frightened the timid-it cheated the Tribuneship; the electors who would have sustained him were busy with the harvest; the first two tribes, however, had already voted in his favor, when the opposition rallied, declared the proceedings illegal, overawed the presiding tribune, and consumed the day in wrangling. The next day, while the emissaries of the Optimates by games and spectacles. In purchasing the were interrupting proceedings in the Assembly of the People, a mob of Senators, led by Scipio Nasica, a grandee, armed with sticks, stones, and the legs of the benches on which they had been sitting, rushed upon the People, knocked down of reduced freemen, without home or bread, were or killed all who opposed them, murdered Gracchus and hundreds of his friends-and so estab lished Society and overturned Despotism, in the they could claim as their own, though they were judgment of the Atlas.

The popular party rallied - the brutal Scipio Nasica, one of the "Conscript Fathers," went till Caius Gracchus, following in the footsteps of science." his brother, became also a Tribune. That our readers may understand what kind of a Denagogue he was, we transfer to our columns a concise account of the reforms he attempted, from the neat abridged History of Rome, by Dr. LEONARD

"His first measures were directed against the murderers and enemies of his brother; and he accordingly proposed that a person once deprived by the people of one office should not be eligible to another; but this bill he afterward withdrew at the request of his mother. His second rogation was, that any one who had put to death or sent into exile a Roman citizen, without a formal trial should be liable to a public prosecution. After these preliminary measures, he renewed the agrarian law of his brother, the carrying of which into effect had been obstructed in every possible way. After this, he proposed a comprehensive series of laws, some of which were carried, and all of which were intended to raise the lower classes, remove abuses, and limit the power of the senate. One of them ordained that the soldiers, independently of their pay, should also be equipped by the state; and that no one should be to serve in the army before the comple tion of his seventeenth year: another enacted that public granaries should be established, from which the poor at certain times were to receive corn at a very low price. A third was devised to established the practice that the order in which the centuries were to vote in the comita should ting to death a Roman citizen, except by the command of the people themselves. These enactments secured to C. Gracchus the highest possible degree of popularity, and he was reelected Tribune r B. C. 122, without any difficulty.

"He entered upon the second part of his legis-lative activity with a reform of certain courts of justice, in which all cases of maladministration were tried, and which had hitherto been composed f senators exclusively. Justice had been administered there with the most barefaced partiality and the judges had allowed themselves to be brib quest furnished occasion for the development of ed to an incredible extent. This evil was felt most severely by the provincials, when they had occasion to complain of Roman Governors who had been guilty of extortion or oppression; for the judges in such cases were men of the same class, and often in the same predicament, as the accused: at any rate, they had the same interests; and the spoils of the provinces filled the pockets, not only of the governors, but also of the judges. The right possessed by the provincials of bringing an action of extortion against a governor was in fact a greater misfortune for them than if they had possessed no such right at all. C. Gracchus endeavored to put a stop to this abuse, by enacting, that henceforth the courts which investigated such cases should be composed of equites, or the wealthy capitalists, who formed a sort of middle lass between the aristocracy and the people, and who seemed to be a desirable equipoise to the senators. By this law he gained over to his plans The equites thenceforth seem to have supplied, at east to some extent, the popular courts also; for after this time the latter are mentioned very rarely. This judicial law of C. Gracchus, which remained in force down to the legislation of Sulla, shows, more clearly than anything else, that he was not a demagogue—a name by which he has so frequently been designated. Another law, which likewise did away with a great abuse, enacted that, every year, previous to the election of the consuls, the senate should determine the provinces which were to be assigned to them.

By far the most important attempt of C. Gracchus, though unfortunately an unsuccessful one was to confer the Roman franchise upon all the Italians; or, according to others, on the Latins directly, and on the other allies only on condition that they should support him in carrying out his reforms. His object was thereby to introduce a petter element into the Roman population, and thus to produce a regeneration of the Republic; and what he intended to do was no more than what the allies themselves had already and justly demanded, but what Rome refused to grant, until at a somewhat later time, she was compelled by one of the most dangerous and destructive wars brought forward, or intended to bring forward suffice it to say, that his comprehensive mind overlooked no branch of the administration in which useful and salutary reforms could be introduced; and, at the time he was engaged in public domain be held as sacred to the use, in lim- stolen property, and to secure to the defrauded these important labors, he superintended, in person, and with the greatest strictness, the making or repairing of roads, bridges, and other public

works: he also conducted the distribution of pub-

which the Latins and Italians were allowed to What was there in any of these measures, op-

The Allas, in subsequent articles on this sub- umphantly elected. Many of the most distin- posed to the "property, order, interest, and good the speech of Senator Benton. It will be read "Every subscriber renewing his subscribers, shall have the three copies for five us two NEW subscribers, shall have the three copies for five us two new subscribers, shall have the three copies for five us two new su necessary to the renovation of Rome; but there erally, and with great, though not unalloyed was not virtue enough in the People of Rome to pleasure, by the friends of Freedom, particularly. appreciate and sustain such reforms. The crafty Optimates, Land Monopolists, and Slaveholders,

> then would we not believe though one should rise | tion of the Union. from the dead, and proclaim that the wages of these social sins is Social Death.

For the National Era. DIRGE.

BY MISS PHEBE CAREY.

Where the shadows dull are creeping O'er the green mounds of the sleeping And the mournful night is weeping For the beauty from us gone; Years on years I would not number, One earth's cares no more will cumber Has been lying in that slumber Never broken by the dawn.

Once did sweet dreams round her hover Once fond eyes were bent above her, Once she had a tender lover, Then what happy dreams were hers; Now the stars shine just as brightly O'er the love-troths plighted nightly, But that heart which beat so lightly Never in its cerement stirs.

At the altar meckly kneeling,
With her changing cheek revealing
Half the heart's tumultuous feeling,
Hers was beauty fair to meet;
And when all their flowers were fuded,
And her heavy locks were braided,
And her brow with thought was shaded,
Then her face was heavenly sweet. But when she had known another
Love, which death alone can smother,
When the wife, a happy mother,
Sung her young babe to its dream;
When her heart life's bliss was proving,
Thun we saw the loved and loving
From time's dum shore slowly moving.
To death's cold and sullen stream.

To our hearts each day grown dearer As her feet grew surely nearer, Though she smiled, we wept to hear her, Longing for the immortal rills; And while yet we strove to borrow Solace for our parting sorrow, She had welcomed in the morrow, Breaking on the heavenly hills.

"TWA CONSCIENCES,"

EDMUND QUINCY and WENDELL PHILLIPS be Democratic parties, as we showed some time since, by the resolution against that party, passed at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and embodying the senti- his belief and practice, his immovable devotion to ments of those gentlemen. We did expect that the Union, and the entire absence of all expresthe PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN, edited by presentation of this fact, retract their assertion men of the Free Soil party. But they persist in their astounding misrepresentation, as appears by ignorant. Gracchus offered himself again for the the following paragraph from an editorial in reply to the Union:

The Union attempt to establish a paradox, because we classified the "Free Soil" and "Abolition" parties, when speaking of the proceedings of the Convention in which Mr. Quincy and Mr. Phillips figured, under the same head. consider them as belonging to the same interest, and have always so treated them. Both of these organizations are the offshoots of 'Democracy got up for the injury of the Whig party."

The conduct of these respectable editors can be explained only on the theory of Sir Pertinax Macsycophant, in " The Man of the World," who thus sermonizes to his virtuous offspring:

"Ye are vary young, vary young, indeed, in these matters; but experience will convince ye, sir, that every mon in public business has twa consciences—mind, sir, twa consciences, a relecgious conscience, and a poleetical conscience."

Doubtless, our cotemporaries have the "relee into perpetual exile to escape the just indignation | gious conscience," but in their treatment of Freeof the People - and the struggle was continued | Soilers they are regulated by the "poleetical con-

For the National Era. TO ALICE.

Enrobed in morning dew the valley lies,
And night's deep shadows lightly fiee away,
Affrighted by the coming king of day,
Who opes the eastern port-is of the skies:
The breeze from their chambers gently rise,
Rich with the fragrant blooms of lavish May!
Yet scenes like this are for the Poet's lay;
But who can paint my loved one's melting eyes? yet scenes like this are for the Poet's lay;
But who can paint my loved one's melting eyes?
Dear Alice, all is fair when thou art near;
Thy presence seems this dreary earth to bless;
The tale of woe thou wilt in kindness hear,
And mitigate it by thy tenderness:
Old Time may frown o'er beauty's shattered wrecks,
Yet I will hold thee loveliest of thy sex!

Washington, D. C.

FREE SOILERS IN MAINE.

The Free Soil men, or Free Democracy of Maine, held their State Convention at Lewistown, (Me..) on the 6th inst. One hundred and forty delegates appeared, and took their seats. James Appleton was chosen President of the Convenion, and several Vice Presidents and Secretaries were appointed. George F. Thomas, of East Machias, was nominated candidate for Governor,

and a State Central Committee was constituted. The following resolutions, which were adopted, will show the principles on which the party embarks in the canvass:

Resolved, That the Free Democracy of this ountry is in no sense a sectional party; that its primary and distinctive object is the legal and astitutional overthrow of slavery, and the restitution to their political, social, and inalienable rights, men whom an anomalous political system has left in the last extremities of oppression thus pursuing such an object, its interests are vitally identified with those of the free laborers of the North, the vast body of non-slaveholders at the South, and with the friends of free government all over the world.

Resolved, That the Free Democracy of this State do not regard it sufficient to assert general principles, when specific questions of vital interest are presenting for practical action on reluctant representatives; and therefore we do most solemnly covenant and promise to each other and to the country, our united and determined efforts in support of the following cardinal principles: No further extension of slavery; no slave territory; the entire separation of the Federal Government from the support of slavery.

Resolved, That the course of General Taylor's

Administration, thus far, and its present indicaions, afford no grounds for regarding it as friendly to the advance of the cause of freedom.

Resolved, That the rejection by the freemen of the North of General Cass, and the doctrines of

the Nicholson letter, should be a sufficient warning to the self-styled Democracy of this State against rallying upon that exploded issue for retaining political power.

Resolved, That those members of Congress from this State whose action and influence were given for freedom, and inflexibly for free terri-

tory, are entitled to the respect of the citizens of this State and Nation, while the great body of the delegation, for fraternizing with the Slave Power on the most vital questions and occasions deserve, as we trust they will receive, political Resolved, That it greatly concerns the interests and honor of this State, that its chief magistrate

be a man capable of standing by his own officially declared opinions, and of fitly representing the timents of his constituency on vital questions of Freedom and Progress. Resolved, That "we demand for the People a

cheaper system of postages, a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the General Governent, the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries, and the election by the people, so far as practicable, of postmasters and other civil officers in the service of the Government."

Michigan.—Great preparations are making for The Free Soil Whigs refuse to be transferred to the Locofoco party, and have called their State Convention at the same time and place with their brethren, the friends of the Administration, at Jackson, on the 30th of June, when a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and State printer, are to be nominated.— N. Y. Tribune.

What! another "coalition?" We trust the

THE SPEECH OF SENATOR BENTON.

We complete in this number the publication of

A large portion of the speech is devoted to an examination of the course of Mr. Calhoun on the undermined the influence of the illustrious Tri- Slavery Question. Mr. Benton exposes his inbune, and, "Conscript Fathers" though they consistencies with remarkable power and merciwere, again resolved themselves into a mob, which | less severity, showing from official documents that overturned Despotism and established Society, by | Mr. Calhoun, when a member of the Monroe Cabimurdering Caius Gracchus, the last of the great | net, gave his written opinion in support of the right of Congress to legislate, not only for the So much for the history of Land Monopoly and prohibition, but abolition, of slavery in the Ter-Slave Labor in Rome. If it do not preach a les- ritories-legislation which he now denounces as son to this country against these twin monsters, insulting, unconstitutional, fit cause for a dissolu-

Mr. Benton, in this severe analysis of the con-

duct of his antagonist, indulges in no rude outbreak of passion, but maintains a due degree of dignity. There is an inconsistency, however, in his comments on the motives of Mr. Calhoun, which a little discrimination as to time would remove. He charges that gentleman, in one place, with having been actuated, in his zig-zag policy, by an intense ambition for the Presidential office; and, in another, imputes to him, as his controlling motive, a purpose to bring about Disunion. Now, he could hardly be aiming, at one and the same time, to become President of the Union, and to destroy it. We have no doubt that, like other of our most prominent statesmen, he has cherished aspirations for the highest seat; but he must have dismissed them long since. Of late years, he has certainly given ample evidence of unfriendliness to the Union, and a disposition to break

Mr. Benton presents with extraordinary force and clearness the doctrine of the municipal character of slavery-its absolute dependence upon local law-the impossibility of its obtaining a legal foothold in California and New Mexico without positive enactment by Congress; and the tone in which he argues this doctrine, clearly evincing his deep sympathy with it, we like still better than the argument.

His earnest and triumphant demonstration of the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in Territories, his identification of the Wilmot Proviso with the anti-slavery proviso of Mr. Jefferson in the Ordinance of 1787, his reference to the unbroken series of precedents in support of the constitutionality and policy of the measure, his bold avowal of the part he took in giving Oregon an long to the Disunion Abolitionists, who denounce | anti-slavery constitution, his manly declaration the Free Soil party equally with the Whig and of opposition to the extension of slavery into any Territory or State where it does not now exist his candid testimony against the evil of slavery. with his frank admission of inconsistency between sions of sympathy with slaveholding pretensions gentleman of respectability, would, on the simple of all bitter denunciations of anti-slavery movements, entitle him to the hearty thanks of every that Mr. Phillips and Mr. Quincy were leading | friend of Liberty. To stand up in such an attitude, upon slave-soil, among slaveholders, pre-occupied with false impressions, with their self-interest pride, and prejudice, all on the watch for every admission or omission which might confirm the suspicions with which their minds had been poisoned, required a greatness of mind and a moral courage which it is difficult for a Northern man,

> But, our warm approbation of the sound docrines and generous sentiments of this remarkable speech, our admiration of the intellectual ower and the courage of its author, must not blind us to his errors and his inconsistencies or

in an anti-slavery atmosphere, fairly to appreciate.

Speaking of the claims set up by our Govern ment for slaves, wrecked on British shores, or who, having achieved their liberties on the high seas had taken refuge in British ports, he more than intimates that he sustained those claims after Mr. Calhoun had abandoned them. Now, no man has

affirmed, more emphatically, the locality of slavery, than he does in this very speech "He (Mr. Calhoun) claims a right for the cit-izens of the slave States to remove to New Mexico and California with their slave property. This is profound error. The property is in the law which creates it, and that law cannot be carried an inch beyond the limits of the State which enacts it. No citizen, of any State, can carry any property, derived from a law of that State, an inch beyond the boundary line of the State which creates it. The instant he passes that boundary to settle, with his property, it becomes subject to another law, if there is one, and is without law if there is not. This is the case with all-with the Northern man, with his corpo rations and franchises—with the Southern man and his slaves. This is the law of the land, and let any one try it that disputes it. We, in Missouri, are well situated to make the experiment conv niently, and in all its forms. Let any one of Mr. Calhoun's followers try it, and he will soon see

what becomes of his property, his slave property Let him remove to Iowa: he will meet there the 8th section of the act of Congress of March 6th, 1820—the Calhoun Proviso; and will in vain in-voke States rights, and Missouri statutes. Let him remove to Illinois: he will find there the Jefferson Proviso, in the form of the Ordinance of 1787. Let him remove to Kentucky: the law of Kentucky takes hold of his slave, and converts the chattel interest of the Missouri slave into real estate; for, in Kentucky, slaves are now made real estate, and placed on the footing of land, as they are in Louisiana. Let him move into Arkansas: his chattel slave will remain chattel, but by virtue of Arkansas law, and subject to its regulation. Finally, let him remove West, and

settle in the Territory of Nebraska, when it shall be created, and the Calhoun Proviso will be on

him again, and his property will evaporate." Has the absolute dependence of slavery upon ocal law, ever been more clearly, more powerful ly set forth than in this brief extract? Now let us apply the doctrine. The citizen of Missouri takes his slaves to Illinois, and they become free. His slaves escape from Missouri to Illinois, and as the law of slavery is purely local, would be come free, were it not for the law of the Consti tution which secures to their master the right of recapture. The citizen of South Carolina takes his slaves to Jamaica, and they become free British law does not recognise the law of slavere This is the reason, according to Mr. Benton, why they cease to be slaves. Well—the citizen o Charleston ships his slaves for New Orleans. A storm arises, and they are driven into Kingston Jamaica, within British law. Which law is su preme-British law, which prohibits slavery, re gards and protects, as freemen, all who come within its operation, or the South Carolina law, which creates slavery-a law, Mr. Benton asserts, that " cannot be carried an inch beyond the limits of the State which enacts it?" Nay, if this be true—and we entirely concur with Mr. Benton-the moment the slaves of any State are carried by the act or direction of their masters, out on the high seas beyond the jurisdiction of that State, they are free-for what law then restrains them? No

ply for the recapture of slaves escaping out of one On Mr. Benton's own principle, then, the slaves who were wrecked in the Enterprise and Enco. mium, and those who assumed their liberties or the Creole, were of right, and in law, free. What claim, then, could we have on Great Britain for their surrender, or for compensation? And how can he speak with complacency of having maintained that claim, after even Mr. Calhoun had

the local law of the State-that "cannot be can

ried an inch beyond the limits of the State which

enacts it." Not United States law-no such law

can be pointed out. Not the Constitution of the

United States-for that instrument provides sim-

We submit these considerations to Mr. Benton with the most friendly feelings-for we know that even the honest mind, when it embraces a sound principle, is not apt at first to trace it in all its applications.

abandoned it?

ognise the expediency of positive enactment against the introduction of slavery into the Terri tories. He argues powerfully for the right to pass such an act—the complete power of Congress North American, National Intelligencer, &c., will be over the subject: he shows that the policy of posduly horror-stricken at this base attempt to unite | itive prohibition had its origin with Thomas Jefferson, and has been recognised by every Admin-

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stration under the present Constitution, called to act upon the subject: he proves that Southern statesmen of eminence have sanctioned this policy, and avows that he himself sustained it in the case of Oregon. Why, then, not adhere to the policy? "It is unnecessary." Not more so than it was in the case of Oregon, where Mr. Benton may be said to have established it. Not more so than it was in the case of the Northwest Territory, more unsuited to slave labor than California; but Mr. Benton has vindicated the wisdom of the Ordinance which spread the shield of Freedom over that Territory. We believe positive enactment is necessary. The great mass of slaveholders, led on by Mr. Calhoun, repudiates Mr. Benton's doctrine, respecting the locality of slavery. Slavery will go, where it is not prohibited, and, having secured foothold without law, will then establish itself by law. California and New Mexico are just as well adapted to slave labor, as any portion of Missouri. New Mexico lies on the borders of the slaveholding States, and nothing would be easier than to transfer the evil across the boundary.

But we remark with pleasure, that, while Mr. Benton insists with great earnestness upon the right of Congress to prohibit slavery, and vindicates the past policy of the exercise of that right, he urges no strong objections, manifests no HOSTIL-ITY, to its exercise now.

Mr. Benton is a slaveholder. Herein, he frankly confesses that his profession and conduct do not agree. We thank him for this admission; it is lamentable to decline compliance with the obligations of Justice; it is base to make our non-compliance a ground for denying them. Mr. Benton is not chargeable with this baseness. There is hope of a man, who, amidst his frailties and inconsistencies, still recognises Ideal Truth; who will not suffer "faults of his life" to "breed errors in his brain;" who will not bring down the requirements of duty to the level of his imperfeet performances; who refuses to adapt his theory of rights, to his practice of wrongs. It is clear that his good angel has not yet departed—his better nature survives—the principle of a sound spiritual vitality still struggles for development. There is hope that he may yet bring up his practice to his ideal standard of duty - that the Truth to which he does homage in his heart, may come to live and move in his life.

We repeat, we thank Mr. Benton for the admission that slavery is wrong, is against the natural brotherhood of man, against natural right-for to this length, as we understand him, the admission goes. How long will a powerful, logical, selfregardful mind be content to rest in a lamentable inconsistency, which a courageous heart confesses? As the recognised head of the real Democratic party of the country, to say nothing of the paramount obligations every man is under to his Maker, Mr. Benton has higher responsibilities than any he sustains to his State. That party to a great extent is destined to control this country, to which, he tells us, the struggling nations of the Old World are looking for a Model Democracy. These nations put an end to slavery, some of them while under monarchical rule, some, since their republican regeneration. Neither in the hour of their Oppression, nor of their Triumph, could they be blinded to the abhorrent nature of Personal Slavery. Its abolition either preceded or followed their political regeneration. When, then, they "turn their anxious looks to us" for an example of pure republicanism-Justice, Generosity, Magnanimity-how must their hearts be chilled by the sad spectacle of a slaveholder at the head of the Government, a slaveholder at the head of the Whig party, a slaveholder at the head of the Democratic party! Alas! in no spirit of sorrow or bitterness, do we quote the language of Mr. Benton: "Our example is against them; and, if the present struggle for liberty shall again miscarry in Europe, we may take to ourselves a large share of the blame." er identical in nature with that which is now

For the National Era. BEETHOVEN'S SPIRIT WALTZ.

Strange, wild, rich music!-how it thrills and thrills My inner heart—a piercing melody!
And then such strains of sadness that it fills
My brooding thought with many a phantasy
From the dark, trembling depths of memory;
Of all that was so beautiful in life—
Voices that wake the heart to costasy, Treasures with which my early morn was rife— But perished all, amid earth's changes, toil, and strife.

There is that soft and tender air-the voice There is that soft and tender air—the voice
Of her that was so meek, with eyes of light,
Which touched the heart, yet bade it still rejoice—
A gentle spirit clothed with holy might;
It speaks to me again—e'en with affright
Thy well-known tones, my sister, now I hear,
And the eye strains as it would burst the sight
Phrough the dark folds of sense, and see thee near:
In vain—poor, anxious orb—it melts into a tear.

And now a choir of voices float along,
From the far distance, softly stealing o'er me,
As music o'er the waters or the song
Which visits us in dreams so tenderly,
We think good angels make the harmony—
Are ye with sweet accord all singing now,
Once loved on earth, but now in heaven that be;
From streams of light, from banks where amaranth
to ye come down to weep with those who weep belo

Do ye come down to weep with those who weep below
And now methinks I'm carried far away,
As on the bosom of the summer air—
And strange, soft, spiritual lights around me play,
And visions open of the bright and fair,
That now the wearied, wounded heart repair—
Oh, happy world! where love and peace abide—
Oh, blessed ones! I see, I see you there!
Joy floweth free in an unmingled tide,
Nor love itself desires or hopes for aught beside.

The music changes—heaven's harps are ringing Such holy measures, that e'er the thought is still Cherubic voices now their anthems singing, That Music's soul itself these voices fill, And every feeling moveth at their will:

Ah! there's that strain again—and now in tears,
The vision fades—I own 'twas human skill,

The sweetest sound the touch of sorrow wears, And Music still on earth, in Pilgrim's weeds appears

Late arrivals from the Spanish part of the island of Hayti represent affairs as in a very distracted state. It is stated that the President, JIMENES, and his generals, had deserted their army, and abandoned several strong points, with a view of facilitating the designs of the Haytiens to obtain possession of the city; when Santa Anna, the former President, interfered, placed himself at the head of a few hundred soldiers, and drove back the enemy to their own territory. On returning, he found the city closed against him. This was the signal of hostilities. Jimenes began to arrest the leading men opposed to him, and made an effort, it is stated, to seize the American Consul, Mr. Elliott, and eighty persons, who had taken refuge under his flagin which he would have succeeded, had not the British Consul and the captain of an English a neat edition of The History of the Vaudois Church, man of-war interfered. Santa Anna besieged the from its origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont, city, and has proved that Jimenes intended to to the present day, by Antoine Monastier. The deliver it into the hands of the Haytiens. This translation from the French was originally preis a remarkable state of things. It would seem, pared by the London Religious Tract Society, then, that the President and leading men of the and has been revised for the American public by place are in favor of a union with the Haytiens. Dr. J. McClintock, who has omitted several pas-But what had Mr. Elliott done, that he should sages consisting of details interesting only to debecome obnoxious to the authorities of St. Do- scendants of the Vaudois. mingo? He is styled American Consul. When was a Consul from this country appointed there? ment of the historian, that the Vaudois Church We thought every part of Hayti was under ban- "is a link that unites" the modern Protestant that this Government had recognised neither of Churches to the Primitive Church, as we have the two Republics. But if it has recognised the no more respect for the doctrine of "the succes-Dominicans, (who are mulattoes.) why discrimi- sion" in ecclesiastics, than we have for the dogma nate between them and the Haytiens? Our of legitimacy in politics, we still commend this commerce with the latter is far more important. history to our readers, as one of profound inter-We doubt whether we have any consul there. est, full of examples of Christian patience, mag-Mr. Elliott may be a sort of commercial agent; nanimity, and heroism. but the question recurs, why should he, and eighty persons with him, be obliged to seek protection from the British Consul and a British man-of war? Had he been taking any part in the dissensions? Had he interposed to prevent a union

For the National Era. SONNET.

TO MY SISTER.

Phoebe,* thy name expresses what thou art,
A bright one, glowing with celestial light,
And beauteous as the blush of star gemmed night;
An angel form enshrining vonum's heart,
And joying most when joy thou can'st impart:
Thy beauting face the clouds of grief affects. And joying most when joy thou can'st impart:
Thy beaming face the clouds of grief affright;
And sum-ist love, all radiant and bright,
And hope and promise on the soul will dart
Their genial rays in answer to thy smile.

Be blest thy future! In a world like this,
Thou may'st not shun each treachery and wile,
But thou may'st gain sweet peace and blessedness;
And, if thy heart remainsth free from guile,
Thy wearied soul shall rest in endless bliss.

A. C. G. Seneca Falls, June 1, 1849.

* The Greek word signifies the bright one.

LITERARY NOTICES.

MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW. June, 1849. Beside the short reviews and notices, there are but three articles in this number-"The Methodology of Mesmerism," "The Ocean, and its Meaning in Nature," and "Macaulay's History of England." The article on Mesmerism, though disfigured occasionally by an affectation of quaint or odd phrases, will command attention. The Review is quite thorough in some of its discussions, but we should like more condensation in its articles, and a greater variety of them. It is published by Coolidge & Wiley, of Boston.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW. April, 1849.

The opening article on Popular Science is rather an essay than a review—an essay replete with thought and striking illustration. The author seems to have read everything, and to be at no pains to conceal it. Croker's diatribe against Macaulay disgraces this number. Its criticism is ingenious, malignant, and audacious, showing how easily the finest productions of genius may be caricatured and turned into ridicule by a mind of some acuteness, embittered by envy or revenge.

Two political articles, one on the Germanic Confederation and Austria, the other on Revolutionized Italy, are stamped all over, as might be expected, with the most repulsive Toryism-Their writers are full of love for tyrants and hatred for the people.

The Miscellaneous articles afford excellent en-

Publishers, Leonard Scott & Co., New York. Agent for Washington, W. Adam, Pennsylvania

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. May, 1849. Full of good reading-always excepting the puerile glorification, in its political essays, of the powers that be. The devotion of this Magazine to Legitimacy is a passion; to question the divine right of kings it regards as blasphemy. It has some "precious" flummery in this number, contributed by somebody in Boston, on Reaction and Foreign Conservatism, and certain speculations about the growth of Legitimacy in France, which have been rather suddenly exploded by the recent elections in that country.

But, we commend to the reader's attention a careful, well considered, strongly written, liberal article on the relations of Hungary to Austria. The writer, though dealing with the Emperor of Austria so leniently as to style his base perfidy, unfortunate deception, is compelled to vindicate throughout the cause and conduct of Hungaryand he does it triumphantly.

The literary articles will amply repay a peru-

BUCHANAN'S JOURNAL OF MAN. Cincinnati, O. somely printed.

THE CENSUS OF 1850.

A Letter addressed by Nahum Capen, of Bos-ton, to the Hon. John Davis, concerning the duty sunk to 10s. 8d. When the price rose to 70s., the A Letter addressed by Nahum Capen, of Bos-It is the possessors of Despotic Power in Europe | method of the Census of 1850, contains many valagainst whom the nations are struggling: it is the price which regulated the duty was ascertained as follows: The prices of grain (wheat, for inspection). possessors of Despotic Power in the United States appointed to provide for taking the Census will adopt the method submitted, in all its details, but ernment. It is at the option of Henry Clay and it may serve as a very useful guide. We fully Thomas Benton, by divesting themselves of a pow- concur with Mr. Capen, that, in taking the Census, the work should be "scrupulously placed in nutting forth its mightiest energies to crush the the hands of competent persons -- persons of People of Europe, at once to work a peaceful rev- known and acknowledged ability in the science of olution in this country, and to become allies in statistics. It is a peculiar business; and to insure fact, as in sympathy, of the Liberalists of the the advantages of science, of accuracy and completeness, it should be confided to minds peculiarly fitted by nature and study for executing the difficult task." He suggests the appointment by the President of "a Board of Commissioners-say of five-with full authority to appoint in the several States a sufficient number of assistants for the proper and faithful execution of the law; it ed in Great Britain on the corn laws. I shall not being presumed that the Executive would thus secure the best talents of the country, without reference to party, for the important and peculiar duties, to be detailed in the premises."

GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK. July, 1849.

The enterprising publisher has got up a handpages; and there are thirteen embellishments, some of them very beautiful. It contains poems by Grace Greenwood, Alice Carey, Lewis J. Cist, and others, and prose articles of real merit by From the days of Adam Smith downward, a some of our best known authors.

PEOPLE'S JOURNAL.

we had the pleasure of seeing it, Howitt's cussions upon "national distress," with which Par-Journal has been incorporated with it, and it is Journal has been incorporated with it, and it is now one of the most pleasing, various, and instructive of popular periodicals, with very little for the schoolmen. The beginning of 1837 saw commonplace about it. It is what its name imports a Journal for the People. It is a London was aggravated by a deficient harvest in the enports, a Journal for the People. It is a London publication, Crosby & Nichols of Boston, and John Wiley of New York, being the agents for

FLETCHER'S LETTERS. Lane & Scott, publishers, New York, have got up in a very convenient form and handsome style. certain Letters of the Rev. John Fletcher, taken from a work edited by Rev. Melvill Horne, and entitled "Posthumous Works of Rev. John Fletcher." The theme of the first six Letters is, "the Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God." Pastoral and Familiar Letters constitute the rest of the series. "They form," says Dr. McClintock, the American editor, "an admirable picture of the holy life and ardent devotion of this selfdenying associate of John Wesley's labor, of whom even Mr. Southey records, that no age or country has ever produced a man of more fervent piety or more perfect charity; no church has ever possessed a more apostolic minister."

The work is for sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

The same publishers (Lane & Scott) have issued Without attaching any importance to the state-

For sale as above.

Two beautiful volumes for the "Boy's Own Library," containing a "History of Wonderful of the island under one government? What has Inventions," have been lately issued by Harper &

to say nothing of the marvellous topics discoursed on, cannot fail to captivate the attention of young folk. They present, in a concise, clear style, the of the marvellous topics discoursed by battle before the people of the three kingdoms. The struggle was one of the severest, the victory one of the completest, of the present century.

Christian equality, so much to be desired, and so beautifully symbolized by the gathering of the account of the Austrians. The Hungarian Republic was proclaimed at Kaschaw on the 27th much had nothing over, and he that gathered lit-Compass, Gun Powder and Gun Cotton, Clocks, Printing, the Thermometer, Steam Engine, Telegraph, and all the other signal inventions and discoveries that have changed the face of the Modern World. For sale as above

For the National Era. SKETCHES

MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

NEW SERIES.

The Corn Lams-Their Character and Policy-Origin of the Anti-Corn Law Movement-Adam Smith-Dr. Bowring-Colonel Thompson-Mr. Cobden-" Anti-Corn. Lam Parliament" Mr Villiers's Motion in the House of Commons in 1839-Formation of the League-Power of the Landlords-Lord John Russell's Motion in 1841-General Election of that Year-Mr. Colden Returned to Parliament-Peel in Power-His Modification of the Corn Laws-Great Activity and Steady Progress of the League during the years 1842, '3, 4, and 5-Session of 1846-Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington-Repeal of the Corn Laws. A pleasant little story is told of Queen Victo-

ria and the corn laws. During the second year of her sovereignty, and while yet a maiden, she was one day skipping the rope as a relaxation from the pressure of official duties. Lord Melbourne, the Premier, was superintending the royal amusement. She suddenly stopped, and, turning to him with a thoughtful look, (the cares of State no doubt clouding her brow,) said, "My Lord, what are these corn laws, which my people are making so much noise about?" Said the courtly Premier, in reply, "Please your Majesty, they are the laws that regulate the consumption of the staff of life in your Majesty's dominions." Indeed," rejoined the Queen, "have any of the staff officers of my Life Guards got the consumption? Poor fellows!" Her Majesty then resumed the skipping of the rope.

Perhaps some American maidens are as ignorant of what the British corn laws were as Queen

Lord Stanley came within a few hundred years of the truth, when he said that the principle of landlord protection had existed in England for eight centuries. In 1773, the corn laws received the impress which they retained till their repeal in 1846. They were revised in 1791, in 1804, in 1815, and in 1828. The revisions of 1815 and 1828 produced the system more generally known as the corn laws. The object of the system was to afford as complete a monopoly in breadstuffs to the home agricuturists as possible, and yet allow the introduction of foreign grain whenever a bad harvest, or other causes, produced a scarcity of food. At every revision, down to that of 1828 the duties were made more and more protective. The price to which wheat (for instance) must rise ere it could come in from abroad, at a nominal duty, was fixed in 1773 at 48s. per quarter; in 1791, at 54s.; in 1804, at 66s.; and in 1815, at 80s.—the quarter being 8 bushels of about 40 pounds each. The liberal policy of Mr. Huskisson slightly prevailed in 1828, and the maximum

price was fixed at 73s. The system was a compromise between protection and starvation, the umpire being a "sliding scale" of duties. By this scale, the duties fell as The May number contains the usual variety of the prices rose, and rose as the prices fell. The the average price of wheat in the kingdom was 52s. per quarter, the duty on foreign wheat was 34s. 8d. When the price reached 60s., the duty 73s. and upwards, the duty went down to 1s. The principal markets in the kingdom, were ascertained by returns to the Exchequer, and these were averaged. To this average were added the averaveraged. To this average were added the averages of the five preceding weeks, and then "the general average" of the whole six was struck, and this, on each Thursday, was proclaimed by the Government as the price for the regulation of the duty for one week. Wheat, flour, &c., from abroad, might be stored or "bonded," without reging duties to await a favorable turn of the paying duties, to await a favorable turn of the market, then to be entered or reëxported at pleas-

> The act of 1828, after being modified in 1842, was totally repealed in 1846—the totality to take effect in February, 1849. During the seven years immediately preceding the repeal, matter sufficient to fill a thousand quarto volumes was printtouch this mass, but confine myself to a sketch of the movement typified by the name of Richard

The history of Voluntary Associations does not furnish a triumph so signal as that achieved by The Anti-Corn-Law League. In seven years it revolutionized the mind of the most intelligent nation of Europe, bent to its will the proudest le-The enterprising publisher has got up a hand-some double number for July—thirty-six extra antiquity, and overthrew a system rooted to the earth by the steady growth and fostering culture of centuries. It may not be uninteresting to trace

school of political economists have contended that free trade is the high commercial road to national This was a favorite doctrine with the We welcome this old friend to our table. Since | brilliant coteris whose opinions were reflected by the Edinburgh Review, and it mingled in the disout of the French revolution to the passage of the reform bill. But the landlords proved too strong was aggravated by a dencient harvest in the ensuing summer. The foreign exchanges turned against England, bullion was largely exported, discredit fell on the oldest houses. Men struggled through the year, abusing the Bank for refusing them loans, but saying nothing about the corn laws. The summer of 1838 brought in its train another deficient howest which pluried train another deficient harvest, which plunged the country deeper into suffering and gloom. In September, Dr. Bowring and Colonel Thomp-son, two distinguished Benthamites, started the Anti-Corn-Law crusade, by forming, in a small meeting at Manchester, an Anti-Corn-Law Association. Shortly after, a large assembly of the merchants and manufacturers of that town, in which Mr. Cobden bore a leading part, resolved to aid the Association with £3,000. In December, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce adopted a petition to Parliament, praying for an immediate and total repeal of the corn laws. Thus encouraged, the Association convened a meeting of deleter, in January, 1839. This body empowered the Association to assemble a meeting of deputies in London at the opening of the approaching session of Parliament. They met in February, and petitioned the House of Commons for leave to present evidence at its bar in regard to the injurious effects of the corn laws, and selected Mr. Villiers to bring forward a motion to that end. The mo-tion was negatived with contempt, and the delegates separated. A month elapsed, and they again met at Brown's Hotel, in Palace Yard—the Pro-tectionists, in derision, giving them the name of "The Anti-Corn-Law Parliament"—a name which they at once adopted, and which they ultimately taught the landlords to fear, if not respect. Their organ, Mr. Villiers, moved that the Commons resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the act regulating the importation of foreign corn. He spoke in defence of his motion, amidst coughings and hootings, when a large majority of members, shouting, "Divide! Divide!" rushed into the lobbies, silencing for the moment the national demand for cheap bread. They had yet to learn the character of the men they were On motion of Mr. Cobden, the Palace Yard

Convention now organized "THE NATIONAL AN-TI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE," with a Central Council, to be located at Manchester. In that hour, the landlords of Great Britain insolently boasted of their ability to cope with all the other property-holders of the kingdom combined. There was cause for their boasting. Their possessions were vast, their union was perfect, their power hitherto irresistible. During a period of fifty-five years, the number of land-owners in the realm had fear-fully diminished. In 1774, when Mr. Burke's corn law was enacted, the estimated number was 240,000 in England proper. In 1839, 30,000 persons, acting together, with the unity and efficiency of a close corporation, owned the agricultural soil of England. With this monopoly, the League

The leading principles maintained by the ague were, that the corn laws were not beneficial to the whole body of agriculturists, but only to a privileged few; that they depressed other branches of industry; caused frequent and ruinous fluctuations in the market value of breadstuffs, greatly enhanced the price at all times, and, therefore, were injurious to the communit generally, and especially to the laboring poor The promulgation of these principles excited a discussion of the broader question of the relative merits of Protection and Free Trade in their TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.

MR. PALFREY.

Another trial for an election in the Fourth District, Massachusetts, has failed. The Boston We have returns from all but four towns-

Framingham, Boylston, Sterling, and Sudbury. Mr. Palfrey's comparative gain, since the March trial, is 232

				Paifrey.	Thompson.	Robinson and scattering.
S	31 towns			3,514	2,528	1,103
	Ashby			65	71	36
	Shirley		-	27	18	30
				3,606	2,617	1,169
				MAR	CH.	
				Palfrey.	Thompson.	Robinson and scattering.
	31 towns			4,403	3,098	1,634
	Ashby	-		70	92	54
	Shirley			33	36	43
				4,526	3,227	1,711
	Had th	a 1	Trop	Soil M.	on walliad or	thor did in

March last, Palfrey would have been elected. We really do not think they have done themselves much credit, but next time they will make amends

INDIANA.—DAVID KILGORE, Whig, is an independent candidate for Congress in the 10th (late lockhill's) district, and the Whigs have decided to make no opposing nomination. The choice will of course lie between Kilgore and A. J. Harlan, Loco. The district gave Taylor 6,365 votes, Cass 6,849, and Van Buren 1,618, last November. If Mr. K. can combine the Whig and Free Soil votes, he will be elected .- N. Y. Tribune The Tribune should blush for hinting at such a

coalition." Does it not know that a "coalition" is "malum in se?" We fear it profiteth nothing by the homilies of its North American brother.

FOREIGN NEWS.

The Cambria arrived at New York last Friday night, with news from Paris to the 31st ult., and to London to the 3d June. Nothing decisive has occurred in Continental

affairs, but it is remarked that events have inclined to favor the Liberal side. France.-Of 734 elections ascertained, 505 be-

ong to the Conservative party, and 229 to the Democratic. In the new Assembly, a somewhat stormy debate took place in relation to the removal of Col. Parveni from the post of military commandant of the Legislative Palace. It passed without harm, although the Tory correspondents of London newspapers exaggerate for the purpose of throwing discredit upon the popular cause in France. Dupin has been elected President of the

ITALY.—Venice still holds out against the Austrians. The Romans, under Garribaldi, during an armistice with the French, fell upon the Neapolitan troops, and utterly routed them. Rome has rejected the terms of settlement proposed by the French, and it is stated that the French troops are approaching nearer and nearer the curious speculation and investigation. It is hand-somely printed.

act of 1828 had 22 degrees in its scale, three or four of which are given as illustrations. When city, determined to take possession of it, if possible, without bloodshed.

> GERMANY.—The Imperial Constitution for Germany is in print. There is no doubt of its now obtaining the adhesion of every Government.

The great difficulties are to be encountered at Berlin in the Imperial Constitution, as framed and voted by the Frankfort Parliament. It is known that this Constitution, like most of those in being, consisted of a Volkshaus and a Statenhaus, (a House of Commons and a Senate,) the Senate being elected by the Provincial States or Legislatures, half by the people. To these two Chambers, the new octroyed Constitution adds a third, to be called a Fursten Rath, to consist of six members besides; the Fursten Rath to have the power that no ministerial proposal can be made in either of the Imperial Chambers without

first receiving the sanction of the Fursten Rath We must say, at once, that, did we consider this monstrous excrescence as likely to make an efficient or permanent part of the Constitution, we should at once abandon all hopes of it. But such an absurd proviso, which is like holding an extinguisher over the candle the moment you are pretending to light it, it will be impossible to carry out or act upon. The King of Prussia himself, we believe, has objected to this princely conclave,

Another objectionable change is the substitution of indirect for direct suffrage. We marvel the more at it, from the bad success of this innovation, as tried in Prussia. In many cases, it has rendered the election a mere hazard. The second degree of election is complicated, too, in the new Imperial charter, by the classification of electers according to their fortunes, allowing the richer classes to return more members in proportion to

their numbers than the poor. Among the important parts of the Frankfort Constitution, the Reichs Gericht, or Federal Court, was that perhaps most prominent. It was adopted from the American system; it is repeated in the new Constitution, and is develop made use of even to a greater degree than the Parliament contemplated. All differences between the several States, quarrels between Legislatures and their Princes, all impeachments, not only of Imperial Ministers, but of State Ministers, are to come before the Federal Court, which will thus be one of the most important institutions of the Empire.—London News of June 2.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY .- Accounts from Vi nna, dated May 28th, announce officially that the fortress of Buda was taken by assault on the 21st, by the Hungarians. It was stated that the commanders were killed, all the Croatian officers and soldiers were put to the sword, the castle and some private houses were pillaged. The Major who commanded the troops from the frontiers, or pying the fortified bridge with 200 men, ordered them to blow up the bridge, but he was not obeyed. He then himself set fire to the mine and the bridge, but it failed, and the building suffered

no injury.' The major alone was killed.
It is said that the Magyars have again utterly defeated the Imperial forces in the neighborhood of Odenburg, and, in consequence, Welden has day, forbidding the publication of any news of the army, except in an official form. Great surprise is expressed in Vienna at the non-appearance the Russians in Hungary, and persons are asking what has become of them. Probably Bem and Dembinski could furnish some information on this subject.

A sanguinary battle has taken place between the Austrians and Magyars, near Raab, in which the victory is claimed by both sides. Dembinski has, it is said, defeated the Russians on the confines of Gallicia. Baron Haynau has arrived in Vienna from Italy, and is to proceed to Hungary. The Russian Government has issued an order to suspend the duty of exportation on corn sent into the Austrian dominions. On the 22d, the Austrian garrison of Kannis-

cha, in Hungary, were expelled by an insurrection of the people, and obliged to retreat to Warasdin. News of the 18th, from Essek, state that the Imperialists were driven out of Mohacs, and Funfkirchen, which it may be remembered were the posts of the extreme left of the Ban's corps, and that the whole of the said corps was obliged to concentrate itself about Esseg.

Parczel had addressed a note to the Servian Government, informing it of the Republic in Hungary, and requiring tokens of a friendly under-

All the roads in Hungary were described to be covered with crowds of recruits, all of whom were going to Debreezin for being drilled, armed, and corporated in the army. The fanaticism wa even more intense and general than ever, now that the certainty of the invasion of the Russians wa known. Görgey, Dembenski, Klapa, Bem, and Repassy, were all said to be there, for deliberating on a common plan for the ensuing campaign.

Another correspondent says that the Imperialists resumed, on the 2d, the offensive. The northern wing, under Vogel and Beuedek, had joined the centre; the southern wing toward Oedenburg had previously executed the same manœuvre, and advanced toward the Fleischhacker road. The

It appears from a Magyar list of military pay, that there are now about 180,000 men in the field, one-sixth of whom are Poles.

For the National Era. THE FREE SYNOD OF CINCINNATI.

"The Free Synod of Cincinnati" met at this place on the 20th inst.; and after an interesting and harmonious session of five days, adjourned to meet at New Athens, Ohio, the third Friday of April next. In the absence of the last Moderator, Rev. Thos. Merrill opened the Synod with a ser-mon from Matthew, v, 13. Rev. John Rankin was chosen Moderator, and Rev. Thos. Merrill Clerk. From a free conversation on the subject of religion within the bounds of Synod, it appeared that all the churches in our connection (with one or two exceptions) have enjoyed, within the last year, special tokens of the reviving and converting influences of the Holy Spirit, for which we would thank God and take courage.

I send you a few extracts from minutes of Synod, with a request that you would publish them.
J. R. Gibson, S. Clk.

Ripley, April 30, 1849.

TEMPERANCE. Whereas the use of intoxicating liquors as a important subject seems not to be fully understood by many: therefore, resolved, 1st. That, in the judgment of this Synod, it is the duty of the Sessions of Churches, in the watch and care they constitutionally exercise over the flocks committed to their oversight, to guard carefully against the seductive habit of using intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and also becoming accessory to that crime by making or vending intox-

> 2d. That the moral law, which inculcates supreme love to God and equal love to man, and which is the standard for estimating Christian character, condemns a practice which is produc-tive of so much dishonor to God, and so much in-

icating liquors, or furnishing facilities for the

jury to man.

3d. That the Church of Christ being the agency established by God for reforming the world, we consider that membership in the Church is a pledge on the part of every professor to exert his influence, not only against the sin of drunkenness, theories Cabet on the contrary has no then but in favor of total abstinence from the use of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT, AND THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENS. Whereas civil government is an ordinance of

God, and the civil magistrate is the minister of interests of the general mass. Between these two God, appointed for the preservation of the rights of the people over whom he exercises authority: therefore, resolved,
1st. That no candidate for civil office should

receive the suffrages of Christian voters, who is guilty of the crimes of slaveholding, duelling, or other scandalous offences against the law of God. 2d. That to assist by our votes in electing such persons to offices of honor and authority in the land, is a violation of the law of God, and a censurable offence according to Chapter 1, Section 3, of our Book of Discipline 3d. That this Synod affectionately and earnestly

entreats the Ministers in our connection faithfully and fully to present to the people under their care the sinfulness of such conduct, and its utter inconsistency with our testimony as a Church of 4th. That we affectionately entreat the Sessions

of the Churches to confer with and admonish any of our members who may be guilty of this sin, and that if, after due time for consideration, and after faithful expostulation on the part of Sessions, such offenders will still persevere in wrong doing, it is the duty of the Sessions to proceed to the use of such further disciplinary measures as will either produce reformation, or effectually remove them from our communion.

THE DUTY OF CHURCHES TO THE POOR. The Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ is a sovereign remedy for all the wants and woes of our fallen humanity, among which wants and woes, the ills of poverty occupy a conspicuous place. These evils being the result of man's apostacy from God, that which proposes to be a remedy for the fall and its consequences, must be adequate to their entire removal. God has provided an applicable of the works of the bediese. ample abundance for the wants of the bodies, as well as for the wants of the souls of men. Profrom the people and from the liberal party, both of whom, we regret to say, have ample cause of complaint in the very serieus modifications which have been made by the princes or their delegates that all shall share a necessary portion of the bounties of his providence. It is, therefore, one of the plainest dictates of the Bible, that those possessed of an abundance of the good things of this life, should minister of that abundance to the necessities of the destitute and suffering. Hence applying the principles of the gospel to the relief of human misery, must, in order to be suited to this end, contain some arrangement for the supply from her own resources of the wants of her own poor members, and of all others to whom God gives her power to minister. This is manifestly the teaching of Christ. "Seek ye first the king-dom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." The "these things" here, are temporal blessings—the things which they should eat and drink, and wherewithal they should be clothed. God's kingdom here means his Church; and it is plainly taught that a portion sufficient to the supply of all our necessary wants is a result of true membership in his kingdom. But how is this to be attained? Not by miracle; not by God's raining manna around the dwellings of the poor; but plainly in consequence of some arrangement, by which those in the Church who are incapacitated from earning a living shall be statedly supplied from the fund of the Church.

If further proof be wanted, it is found in the institution of an order of officers in the Church, whose special duty it is to attend to this matterin the whole tenor and spirit of the gospel, and in the practice of Apostolic times. Hence, we recom-mend to all our Churches that a fund be raised, by stated contributions on the first day of the week for the supply of the wants of the indigent; and that the scriptural officers, called deacons, be appointed in each of our Churches, whose duty it shall be to receive and appropriate the contribu-

tions of the Church for this object. In support of this recommendation we begleave to offer, in addition to what has already been said, the following considerations:
1st. It will relieve that painful sacrifice of feel-

ing, which has often to be made in soliciting as

A shrinking delicacy of feeling is often one of the most touching and beautiful accompaniments of virtuous poverty. Such feeling we ging or pauperism is painful in the extreme, and hence the extremest want will often be borne by

be in perfect harmony with the spirit of true religion. To such feelings the imputation of begpersons under the influence of this refined delicacy, rather than apply, even to their fellow-Christians for aid. But an arrangement, like the one we recommend, prevents this painful sacrifice; and it is by Scripture the duty of those offcers appointed really needing assistance, and give to such unso-2d. It would take from the mouths of the mem-

bers of secret societies a standing reproach against the Church, and a stereotyped argument for their own associations. In some, or in all of these associations, provision

is made for the supply of the wants of their poor, when such happen to be found among them. And we are impressed with the belief that the cause of these societies may, to some extent, be traced to the failure of the Church to perform her obligations on this subject; and that these attempts indicate a want of the age, which is making itself felt, and blindly seeking its object through these organized associations. Now, opposition to these ocieties from the Church, in whose unfaithfulness they in any degree find their origin, comes with an awkward grace and weakened power. But by a systematic arrangement in every Church to supply, to the extent of their resources, the wants of the poor, the cavils and reproaches of the enemy will be most effectually silenced. 3d. It will be a powerful check to the covetous

ness of the Church, which finds its most plausible apology in the alleged necessity of having to proride for old age. Under this plea, that covetous-ness, which is idolatry, finds its surest resting place—a fortified retreat, from which the Spirit of God alone can dislodge it. Under this specious covert, it feeds and fattens

even on the miseries of the poor; devours widows' houses, and keeps back by fraud the hire of the laborer. But by the raising of a fund, into which all are expected to contribute, and from which every one in need is privileged to draw to the extent of his necessity, not only is this plea for coverous etousness removed, but a strong temptation to the in the next instant soars off on the wings indulgence of its spirit is taken away. 4th. By this arrangement we believe the moral flight the bird of Jove himself.

power of the church would be immensely increased. means, the false distinctions of wealth and pride | sense of my subsequent remarks. this country to do with the internal broils of Hayti?

Brothers, New York. The handsome typogra- joined issue. Richard Cobden, in the name of Hungarians had on their side retreated in conse- will receive a powerful check in the Church, and quence. An action took place at Boda, fought a nearer approach will be made toward that will receive a powerful check in the Church, and | novels, and you get a meaning which is not so bad.

tle had no lack.

NEW YORK CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW YORK, June 18, 1849. The view of Socialism presented by your able foreign correspondent in the last Era, is fully confirmed by the Paris newspapers received on Saturday by the Cambria.

term Socialism represents a prevailing tendency rather than a distinct party, and embraces the advocates of reform and progress, without reference to the peculiar theories or the practical measures which may be sustained by different individuals. The so-called Red Republican movement seems to have coalesced with the Socialist movement; its ferocity has thereby been softened; it cherishes less faith in violent measures; it has gained light in regard to the ends to be pursued; and is to a certain extent relieved of the vagueness and blind zeal which, on the first development of the party, was nothing but a spasm of frantic democratic enthusiasm. The Socialists. on the other hand, have become more universal beverage is the high road to the sin of drunkenness, which debars from the kingdom of God; and and more disposed to cooperate with other men whereas the position of the Free Church on this of a progressive spirit, for the realization of a practical reform, without waiting for the social embodiment of their favorite systems. Hence the combined movement is of a large and comprehensive character. It includes all the believers in a higher development of humanity, by means of an improved social organization, from Considerant to Cabet. These names stand for two wide extremes of

opinion-Considerant maintaining that the perfection of society is to be reached by the application of an artistic system, based on rigid and profound scientific principles, which secures to the individual the possession and enjoyment of property, in accordance with the general interests. He represents the reflective element, which belongs to every genuine movement of humanity, theories. Cabet, on the contrary, has no theoretical system; he appeals to the sentiments of justice and benevolence, which he believes are innate in the human heart; and advocates the abolition of private individual property in the extremes, we find almost every variety of opinion, represented by such men as Leroux, Lamennais, Proudhon, Ledru Rollin, and so forth, all agreeing, however, in the celebrated formula of St. Simon, "that the mission of the future is to meliorate the condition of the laboring masses." This may now be taken as the desire of the Socialist movement, the common tie which binds together its adherents, and which has given them their unexpected success in the recent elections With 2,985,000 votes against 3,430,000 votes representing every shade and degree of the reactionary party, the Socialists will command an influence in the Assembly of the utmost importance. They will compel attention to a variety of wholesome truths, which do not easily gain access to the ear of the privileged orders, and which will prepare the way for the introduction of widereaching, pacific, and beneficent reforms.

Judging from the tone of the prominent So cialist journals, I infer that the leaders are as strenuous for the preservation of order, as averse to any popular, tumultuary demonstrations, as t timid, panic-stricken Conservatives, and rely for the advancement of their ideas on free discussion in the Assembly, rather than on the use of weapons in the street. Among the objects particularly insisted on, are the equalization of taxation, a reform in the credit system, and in the arrangements of public instruction. These points ill probably come up at an early day; and so obvious is the consistency of the demands with the principles of Democracy, that nothing but the wrong-headedness, or the craven terrors of the party of reaction, can prevent their amicable

I notice that the foreign correspondent of Benks of the ultra Demo as identical with what in America is called Fourrierism. This is too egregious a blunder for anybody to be duped by it. The Fourrierists, as it is well known, demanding the application of a certain philosophical system as the remedy of so- and Oil Cloths cial evils, while the Socialist Democrats, to whom the letter-writer alludes, coincide in nothing but the necessity of political action in behalf of the

The tidings from Europe keep up a constant fermentation in the minds of our foreign pepula-tion I do not know indeed but the enthusiasm when it costs nothing but words, mounts to a higher pitch than in the scenes where hard blows and the heart's blood are the price of liberty. A very large meeting of Germans was held last Friday evening, at the Shakspeare Hotel. The excitement was intense. It is a most interesting sight to witness the calm, inexpressive German temperament, firing up under the inspiration of freedom and sympathy with their struggling countrymen, till the whole soul seems to melt and ush forth in a red-hot lava stream of mingled indignation and hope. The enthusiasm of the occasion was stimulated almost to frenzy, by the introduction of Captain Mayne Reed, the hero of so many Mexican battles, who announced his purpose to join in the great European warfare for freedom. It is understood that the valiant captain wishes to accompany a volunteer force, who shall hold themselves in readiness to strike wherever their strength is most needed. His pirit is expressed in the battle-hymn which he ecited with a vehement eloquence, as if the red eight hand of Mars himself had placed coals of fire on his lips:

Her drums, and rend Heaven's reeking space, The colors planted face to face. The charging cheer,
Though Death's pale horse lead on the chase,
Will still be dear."

A committee of five persons was appointed to nform the President and Heads of Departments at Washington of the views and purposes of the eeting, and to receive their answer. will be more gravelled by such applications than he would by a charge of Mexican light horse, or even the pious importunity of Washington office-

The new-fledged organ of the Administration,

The Republic, I find, is received with as guarded expressions of approbation as the non-committal spirit of its own columns. If it does not show more fight and fury, it will have to rely more on the patronage of Government than on its subscrip-The late dynasty has given us a good thing in

Lieutenant Lynch's Narrative of the Dead Sea Expedition, whatever holes in the Constitution it ay be supposed were made by the expedition itself. - There can be no doubt of the constitutionality of the Lieutenant's book, nor of its genuine nerits either. It is written in a style of great anmation and truthfulness, and adds materially to our store of information in regard to the interest-ing regions he traversed. Lieutenant Lynch certainly displayed a rare degree of enterprise, sa-gacity, and knowledge of human nature, in the command of his expedition; and the character of this instructive volume does no less credit to his intellectual resources and ability as a writer.

I believe I have not mentioned the recent work by Dr. Mayo, entitled "Kaloolah, or the Auto-biography of Jonathan Romer." This has quite taken the town by storm. It has produced a tumult of admiration among all who delight in splendor of imagination, vividness of description, and keen, sarcastic humor. The Doctor has shown himself a master in this kind of composition, and it is earnestly to be hoped that he will hereafter "throw physic to the dogs," and administer to "humans" only the more exhilarating draughts from the salient fountains of his wit and invention. His description of the horrors of the slave trade, though incidental, is exceedingly powerful; and the narrative he gives of scenes in a never lose the impression of misery, more than death, which his clearly defined pictures stamp upon the memory. The book is remarkable for its singular union of romance and reality. He describes the minutest details of geography, the customs and manners of strange barbarous nations, and spirit-stirring events, that could have been known only by experience, with the delicate and patient touches of the miniature painter; and ardent imagination, which outstrips in its aerial

the Church to heard up her thousands, to canker in her coffers, but to keep her bounties flowing in streams of blessing, from which they shall perpetually return, like the waters of the ocean, to their parent springs, to go forth in ever new abounds. Speaking of Miss Edgeworth, in my last letis a most sweeping assertion, inconsistent with the well-known moderation of your correspondparent springs, to go forth in ever new channels, to gladden the deserts of human woe. By this ent; besides, it is an absurdity, and makes non-For works read

BUSINESS NOTICES.

E As this paper is not sent to any new subscriber, unless paid for in advance, the reception of it will be a sufficient receipt.

The wiff be a sufficient receipt.

The Agents or others having fainds to forward are desired, if the amount be considerable, to purchase of some bank a draft on New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. Smaller amounts may be bransmitted by mail, observing, when convenient, to send large bills on New England, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore banks. Do not send certificates of deposite.

The Any olerwana who will present the service of th

In the present state of French politics, the

The Any clergyman who will procure four subscribers, and send us eight dollars, may have a lifth copy gratis for one year.

The Mr. V. B. Palmer, at his newspaper agency, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, is duly authorized to procure advertisements for his paper.

Within the last week we have received two or three requests to have the direction of papers changed, without informing us to what post office, bounty, or State, the papers have heretofore been Without these, we cannot change the direc-

13 Agents and others, in sending names, are equested to be very particular, and have each let-er distinct. Give the name of the Post Office, the County, and the State.

County, and the State.

Accounts are kept with each subscriber, and when we receive money from him on his subscription, it is immediately passed to his credit.

Agents will notice that we keep an account th each subscriber. Hence no accounts will be kept with the agents; and in transmitting moneys on which they are entitled to a commission, the will retain the amount of their commission, and, in all cases, forward the money with the names, so as make the account even at each remittance. Agents and others who wish to send us cractional parts of a dollar, can now do so without increasing the postage, by remitting pre-paid post office stamps, which can now be obtained at any post office.

We invite the attention of those who are remitting moneys to the following table, show-ing the rate of discount on uncurrent money in this city. We earnestly hope that those send money will endeavor to send such bank bills

as are at the lowest discount - Par. Maryland
- Par. Virginia - Par. Western V
- Par. Ohio
- 3-4 dis. Indiana - 1-2 dis. Kentucky
- 3-4 dis. Michigan
- 1 1-2 dis. Canada Washington, D. C. Baltimore

CONTENTS OF No. 267. - Price, twelve and a h

Political State of Germany.—Edinburgh Review.
Illuminated MSS. of the Middle Ages.—British Qu

Review. The Bonaparte Family.—North British Review. European Affairs—Rome—Russia—Hungary.— European Affairs—Rome—R and the New York papers. 6. The Pillars of Hercules.—Spectator

FOETRY. The Three Sisters. Dermet's Parting. SHORT ARTICLES. New Orleans Amusements. New Books. Published weekly, at six dollars a year, by E. LITTELL & CO., Boston.

WASHINGTON, December 27, 1845.

Of all the Periodical Journals devoted to literature and science, which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language; but this, by its immense extent and comprehension, includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the present age.

J. Q. ADAMIS.

WASHINGTON, December 27, 1845.

No. VII.—June, 1849. EDITED by Theodore Parker. Devoted to the Great Questions of the Day, in Politics, Religion, Humanity, &c. Terms, three dollars per year, in advance. New subscribers, remitting four dollars and a half, will be supplied with the work from the beginning to the close of

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M. C. MOORE, Attorney at Law, West Greenville, Mer-cer county, Pennsylvania. Collections in Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio promptly attended to.

June 14—6t CARPETS, OIL CLOTHS, & WINDOW SHADES. MERCHANTS from the South and West would be ample recompensed by making cheap purchases for cash, be calling at the Carpet, Oil Cloth, and Window Shade Depo

Three thousand pieces of Wilton, Brussels, Imperial, Ingrain, Damask, and Venitian Carpetings, with Cil Cleths, Mats. Rugs, Looking Glasses, Blinds, Window Shades, and Mattings, wholesale and retail, very low. March 15.—lam12t

A TTORNEYS and Counsellors at Law. Office, Clark street, opposite the Court House, Chicago, Illinois.

CALVIN DE WOLF.

Jan. 4—ly. WILLIAM W. FARWELL. THE PARKEVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTI-

THE PARKEVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE,

A CCESSIBLE from all parts of the United States, situated two miles south of Woodbury, the county town of Gloucester county, New Jersey, (near Philadelphia,) is now open for the reception of patients.

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April 19.—eow5t

THE CHEAPEST ANTI-SLAVERY TRACT YET PUBLISHED.

THE ADDRESS OF THE SOUTHERN AND WEST-ERN LIBERTY CONVENTION, held at Cincinnati, June 11th and 12th, 1845, to the People of the United States: with notes, by a citizen of Pennsylvania. A pamphlet, containing 15 closely printed octavo pages of facts and statistics, showing the effects of Southern Stavery on the interests of this country; on fine paper and handsome type, and sold at the exceedingly low rate of ten dollars per thousand, or one dollar per hundred!

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WILLIAM HARNED, Agent,
August 10.—lam

COMMISSION STORE. WM. GUNNISON, General Commission Merchant, 104 Bowly's Wharf, Baltimore, Md. Dec. 23.—19

Northern votes. There was a slave subject which

presented it-the liberation of American slaves by

the British authorities in the Bahama islands

who had revolted against their owners, committed

murder and piracy, and carried their masters

vessels into British ports. When these enormities occurred, Mr. Calhoun took up the cause of the

South with justice and vehemence, and I stood by him. When he took it into his head to become

Van Buren's successor, he abandoned the South, and left me and a few others alone by the side of

the ill-fated owners of the Comet, Encomium,

Creole, Enterprise, and others. In his new-born zeal, then, to please the North, he shotahead—he

now. It will be a curious episode, and will place Mr. Calhoun a second time where he was in

1819-20—on the Northern side of the slavery question! but only for a brief space. Mr. Van Buren preferred to try to be his own successor;

and the Texas treaty having gone over without making its author President, and the Mexican

war promising a large crop of popular presiden-tial candidates, a new political test became neces-sary; and, the tariff question being settled by the

act of 1846, a recourse to slavery and abolition became indispensable. Hence, the firebrand reso-

lutions of 1847—a firebrand which has had the singular fate of dying out where it was put, and

just faintly sketched-and in his subsequent con-

The resolutions then point directly to the sub-

version of the Union. It is their language. And for what cause? For a cause so absurd and un-

founded, so contradicted by his own conduct, and

by the whole action of the Government from its

foundation to the present day, that, being con-fronted with his own conduct, he has never dared

I have no new opinions to express about the

design of those resolutions. I gave my opinion of them at the time they were introduced, and in

many ways, and among the rest in a letter to the

people of Oregon, and another to the people of

Howard county. The people of Oregon had formed a Provisional Government, and inserted in their articles of Government a fundamental act

for the prohibition of slavery, copied from the Jefferson proviso of 1787. The House of Repre-

sentatives had passed a bill, session of 1846-'47, to

establish a Territorial Government for Oregon.

sanctioning their articles of Government with the

proviso against slavery in it. This bill was de-

feated in the Senate just twelve days after Mr. Calhoun brought in his firebrand resolutions; and

in giving an account of that defeat to the people of

Oregon, in a letter which was then published, I

A home agitation, for election and disunion

purposes, is what I told them the object of these

resolutions was. Cass and Butler were defeated upon tests framed out of these resolutions; but

Northern men, and to bring forward Mr. Calhonn

himself as the Southern candidate. Failing in

this object to get himself nominated, the next de-

citizen, not an actual member from a slaveholding State, was excluded; even Mr. Bibb, of Kentuc-

ky, a former Senator, and who was turned out under the special decision of Mr. Calhoun him-self. Members came upon invitation. I was not

invited, and would not have gone if I had been

General Houston was not invited, but went with-

out invitation, and moved the opening of the

doors to the public, which was voted down. I have been told that disunion was expressly dis-

cussed; and that would seem to flow, as a regular consequence, from the fundamental proposition of

election part of the object was again

duct, which is yet to be exhibited.

to ask a vote upon his resolutions.

Missouri on the 15th day of February, 1847— any one try it that disputes it. We, in Missouri, just four days before Calhoun brought into the are well situated to make the experiment convetions, which I denounced upon the spot—which have been adopted by the Missouri Legislature at what becomes of his property, his slave property. the last session, and from which I now appeal to the State—the whole State. How different, how 8th section of the act of Congress of March 6th, irreconcilably hostile to each other, the two sets of resolutions! One makes the peace, permanency, and welfare of our national Union dependent upon strict adherence to the spirit and terms of the Missouri Compromise, in its application to new territory—that is to say, upon the constitutional right, and the equitable exercise of that the chattel interest of the Missouri slave into real right, to legislate upon slavery in the new terri-tory, and to admit it in part, and prevent it in part: the other makes the dissolution of the they are in Louisiana. Let him move into Ar-Union dependent upon the same platform of fact and principle—denying the right of Congress to by virtue of Arkansas law, and subject to its admit, or prohibit, slavery in a Territory—assert-ing its prohibition to be a violation of the Constitudion of the United States, an insult to the sovlution of the Union. Sad contradiction this, when the same remedy is both to cure and to kill! And although the political doctors may prescribe both, yet, surely, the political patient who has taken one has the right to talk a little with the doctors before he swallows the other.

Yes, citizens! Congress has the power to legispower in Congress to legislate on the subject, has killed all compromise. Those who deny the power cannot vote for it: it would be a breach of their Calhoun have done this; and to talk about compromise now, is to propose to call Methusaleh from his tomb. The effect, if not the design, of his new dogma, was to kill compromise; and dead it is. The Constitution will not permit him and his followers to vote for any compromise line; opposition to the extension of slavery will not permit Northern men to do it; and thus there is no chance for any line. Principle cannot be com-promised. The Missouri Compromise was not of a principle, but of interests after the principle was established. The first question put by Mr. Monroe to his Cabinet, was as to the constitutional power of Congress over the subject. That being established in the affirmative, the application of the principle was matter of detail and of expe-

abolition of slavery in the Territory of Louisiana. I have now to show that he did the same thing in a State-in the State of Texas. The case was this: In the session of 1844-45, two resolutions were adopted for the admission of the State of Texas—one, single and absolute, with the Missouri Compromise init; the other authorizing negotiations with Texas for her admission on an equal footing with the original States. The Senator from South Carolina was then Secretary of State, and virtual President of the United States; and in that capacity he seized upon the absolute resolution, selected it, and applied it to the State of Texas; and thus ran the Missouri Compromise line through that State, thereby abolishing slavery in a State-in a part of a Stateone part slave soil; and so it stands at this day! Before that act of Mr. Calhoun, the whole State of Texas was slave soil—made so by the laws and Constitution of Texas. The question with our Congress was, how to admit her consistently with her rights as a sovereign State? The House resolution imposed a restriction, an abolition, in fact, of slavery, in all her territory above 36° 30', and that was a great deal; for the State extended in one part to 42°. The Senate's amendment imposed nothing, but proposed to treat with Texas, and to admit her upon agreed terms. Mr. Calhoun seized upon the House resolution, adopted it, and thereby adopted the Missouri Compromise, and im-posed it, not upon a Territory, but a State. He abolished slavery in a State! and in this way carried Abolitionism further than any Barnburner ever proposed; for they limit their Abolitionism to Territories. This Mr. Calhoun did, and did as late as March the 3d, 1845. There is no dispute about it. General Houston charged him with us Circular Address to his coi

upon Tyler, for he had often boasted in the Senate that he himself had selected that resolution. I repeat, I do not cite this conduct of Mr. Calhoun, in abolishing slavery in a part of Texas, as authority to justify abolishing slavery in States, but to show that he went further than any "Northern fanatic" has ever proposed to go; and, further, that, up to that date, March 3d, 1845, he had not invented his new doctrine of no power in Congress to legislate upon slavery in Territories; and, still further, to show that, up to the same period, he had not felt the pricking of that new being excluded, with their property, from the soil which their common blood and treasure won. Texas was all won, as well north as south of 36° 30′, by the same blood and treasure—the taxes of the people, and the blood of Goliad, the Alamo, and San Jacinto. And yet here were citizens of the same State excluded, by the act of Mr. Calhoun, from removing with their property from one

ed out anxiously for Mr. Calhoun's reply.

And now I have arrived at a point which claims all, that, after the rejection of the Texas treaty in 1844, various propositions were submitted in Congress for her admission, and that every proposition contained some plan for dividing her into free and slave territory. Everybody will remember this. Now, I do not recollect a single instance in which the constitutionality of such propositions were disputed, or a single instance in which it was deemed an insult to the slaveholding

States to see slavery excluded from any part of it. These propositions were particularly numerous in the session of 1844-45, which ended with two propositions enacted into two alternative resolutions-one to run the Compromise line through the State, the other to negotiate with her upon the subject. Mr. Calhoun selected the former of the two Houses of Congress, nor the Presiden lutions, saw anything in them either unconstitutional or insulting to the slave States, or tending to disunion. I myself made one of these propositions. It was to divide by a parallel of longitude. It proposed to Texas that she should surrender to the United States all the territory west of the hundredth parallel of longitude, which was to be free soil—that on the east side which was to be free soil—that on the east side to be slave soil. I proposed to limit slavery by a line north and south, and that upon negotiation makes it my duty to speak of him, and to show with Texas and if any negron wishes to have with Texas; and, if any person wishes to know my principles about the extension of slavery west into New Mexico, they may see it in that prope-New Mexico, they may see it in that proposition. I thought it right then; and I do not change my opinions of right to suit calculations or es. What is more, I never heard of anybody that thought I was wrong then; and the only difference between my proposition and Mr. Calhoun's act was, that I was in favor of limiting by negotiation with the State to be affected; Mr. Calhoun divided the free and slave soil of the State itself, by a line drawn east and west, and accordingly did so divide it; and the State so stands at this day. The difference between us was the difference between a longitudinal and latitudinal line, and between taking the boundary of

ary between free and slave soil, and running the line through the State itself. It is absurd to deny to Congress the power to legislate as it pleases upon the subject of slavery in Territories. It has exercised the power, and with the sanction of all authorities, State and Federal, from the foundation of the Government to the present time, and never had it questioned until Mr. Calhoun put forth those unfortunate resolutions, from which he had to back out under his own mortifying contradictions. It is absurd form of government but that which Congress gives them, and no legislative power but that which Congress allows them. Congress governs the Territory as it pleases, and in a way incompatible with the Constitution; and of this any State that has been a Territory is a complete example, and our own as much so as any.

Congress has the power to prohibit or admit tories; for their Governments are the creatures of Congress, and its deputies, so far as any legislative power is concerned. It is not in the States separately; and this leads to one of the grossest delusions which has grown out of the political metaphysics of Mr. Calhoun. He claims a right for the citizens of the slave States to remove to New Mexico and California with their slave property. This is profound error. The property pretensions to the Presidency, became the advo-is in the law which creates it, and that law cannot cate of Jackson, went upon his ticket, and was is in the law which creates it, and that law cannot cate of Jackson, went upon his ticket, and was be carried an inch beyond the limits of the State clearly with him. But this was leading friend at the South," or both, and hatch a clause in the Constitution; and now it is hard for themselves, before purchasing elsewhere.

The striking out of these passages shows that the clear of their own account, or that of their own account, or the theint own account, or the their own account, or the their own accoun

Government, for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain Territories, approved March 6th, 1820.

**Resolved, That our Senators in the Uniques of the United States are hereby instructed, and our Representatives requested, to yote in accordance with the provisions and the spirit of the said eighth section of the raid act, in all the questions which may come before them in relation to the original to one we Territories or States, out of the territory now belonging to the United States, or which hereafter may now belonging to the United States, or which hereafter may be acquired, either by purchase, by treaty, or by conquest." which enacts it. No citizen, of any State, can the enacts it. No citizen, of any State, can the carry any property, derived from a law of that State, an inch beyond the boundary line of the State which creates it. The instant he passes that boundary to settle, with his property, it becomes subject to another law, if there is one, and the carry any property derived from a law of that he would only have to wait and serve eight years. That was only one year longer than Jacob had to wait and serve Laban for Rachel. But, indury is into Mr. Calhoun's designs. His decomes subject to another law, if there is one, and the expected to succeed Jackson, and address the anti-union passages. The majority were doubtless in favor of preserving the Union. But this is not our present inquiry. The present inquiry is into Mr. Calhoun's designs. His decomes subject to another law, if there is one, and These resolves passed the General Assembly of his slaves. This is the law of the land, and let niently, and in all its forms. Let any one of Mr. 1820-the Calhoun Proviso; and will in vain invoke States rights, and Missouri statutes. him remove to Illinois: he will find there the Jefferson Proviso, in the form of the Ordinance of

1787. Let him remove to Kentucky: the law of settle in the Territory of Nebraska, when it shall be created, and the Calhoun Proviso will be on ereignty of the States, and tending to the disso- | him again, and his property will evaporate. Thus, a citizen of Missouri cannot get out of his own State, on any one of its four sides, with his slave property, without having its character altered, or holding it by another law; and twice he will lose it—on two sides of his State, on contiguous territory—he will lose it under an act of Congress late upon slavery in Territories, and to admit, or prohibit, its existence; in fact, to compromise it. ion of Mr. Calhoun, in his high character of Cabinet Minister, and assisting at a council armed She has the constitutional power, but can never with the veto power. This is the case of the Missouri exercise it. The new dogma, of no sovereignty insulted, or felt himself bound to dissolve the Union on account of it.

oath; those who want no slavery in the new Territories will not vote for compromise; and thus the laws of their States with them to Oregon and extremes meet—combine against the middle—and defeat all compromise. The resolutions of Mr. slave law would be there! Fourteen States! each carrying a code different in many respects-from each other; and all to be exercised by the same judges, in Territories where there is no slave law. What absurdity! No such thing can be done. The only effect of carrying slaves there would be to set them free. It would be in vain to invoke the Constitution, and say it acknowledges property in slaves. It does so, but that is confined

And now we arrive at substance—at a practical point. Congress has the constitutional power to abolish slavery in Territories; but she has no slave territory in which to exercise the power. We have no territory but the remainder of Louisiana, north and west of Missouri—that in California, New Mexico, and Oregon—and that north of Wisconsin, now Minnesota. In Louisiana, north and west of us, it was abolished by Congress in 1820. In the Territory north of Wisconsin, now Minnesota, it was abolished by the Jefferson Proviso of 1787. In Oregon, it was abolished by Congress in 1848, by what you may call the Benton Proviso, if you please. In New Mexico and California it was abolished by the Mexican Government in 1829, confirmed in 1837 and again in 1844. Here are the decrees, the originals of which I have read in the authentic bound volumes of the Mexican laws, and which were produced in the Senate of the United States by Mr. Dix, of New York:

[Translation of the Decree of 1829.] ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. The President of the United Mexican States to the inhabitants of the Republic:

ants of the Kepublic:

Desiring to signalize, in the year 1829, the anniversary of Independence, by an act of national justice and beneficence, which may tend to the benefit and support of so important a good, which may strengthen more and more the public tranquility, which may co-operate in the aggrandizement of the Republic, and which may restore to an unfortunate portion of its inhabitants the sacred rights which nature gave them, and the nation protected by wise and just laws in conformind the nation protected by wise and just laws, in conformi y to the provision of the 30th article of the constitutive act xercising the extraordinary powers which are conceded to

consequently free.

3. When the condition of the treasury will permit, the owners of the slaves will be indemnified, in the manner which

shall be provided for by law.,

Mexico, 15th September, 1829, A. D.

JOSE MARIA DE BOCANEGRA. [Translation of the Law of 1837.]

Slavery is forever abolished, without any exception, in the whole Republic, April 5, 1837.

The masters of slaves manumitted by the present law, or by the decree of the 15th of September, 1829, shall be indemnified, &c.—Collection of Laws and Decrees of the General Congress of the United Mexican States, vol. 8, p. 201.

This is the decree, and this is the act of Conthe late session of Congress. Everybody was struck with the force of the accusation, and lookess confirming it, abolishing slavery throughout the Mexican Republic. The Constitution of 1844 does not abolish slavery, for that was done before, looked in vain. He did not reply, and could not. Confession would do no good, and denial would out prohibits its future establishment there is no slavery now in Mexico and California; make it worse. The fact was notorious, and was and consequently none in any Territory belong-ing to the United States; and consequently nothof public record. He could not throw the blame for the people of the United States to quarrel about. There is no slavery now by law in any Territory; and it cannot get there by law, except by act of Congress; and no such act will be passed, or even asked for. The dogma of no power in Congress to legislate upon slavery in Territories, kills that pretension. No legal establishment of slavery in California and New Mexico is then to be looked for. That is certain. Equally certain it will never be established in either of them in point of fact. The people of both Territories, the old inhabitants, are unanimously against it. Of the new emigrants, all those from Europe, Asia, Mexico, Central and South America, and all those from the non-slaveholding part of the United States, will be unanimously There remains then, to overbalance all this unanimous mass, only the emigrants from the slave-holding parts of the United States—in itself the mallest branch of the emigration, and it divided on the question—many going for the express purpose of getting rid of slavery—and very few so far in love with it as to go that distance for the pleasure of having a lawsuit with his own negro, and with the certainty of coming out second best in the contest. There is then no slavery, at this or in fact; and will never be either, in law or in fact. What, then, is all the present uproar about? Abstraction! The abstract right of doing what cannot be done! The insult to the sovereignty

> straction; and no reality, substance, or practice, The Romans had a class of disputes which they called de lana caprina, that is to say, about goat's wool; and as the goat has no wool, the dispute was about nothing. So is it of this dispute among us about excluding slavery from New Mexico and California; there is none there to exclude, and the dispute now raging is about nothing.

of the States, where there is no insult! All ab-

The Missouri resolutions were copied from those of Calhoun, and I do not believe there exceeded who were in the secret either of the origin or design of that proceeding. They were copied from Calhoun; and to see their design, you must know his. His were aimed at the Union—at the harmony and stability of the Union-and at the his design in bringing forward the resolutions from which he was so suddenly backed out in the Senate, and which some half dozen members have succeeded in passing through the Missouri Legislature. This carries me rather far back, but I will make rapid work and short work.

Mr. Calhoun came into public life to be Presi-

dent of the United States. The weird sisters, in the shape of the old man that taught him gram- of wrongs which separated the American Colothe shape of the old man that taught him grammar, had whispered in his ear-thou shalt be Pres- | nies from Great Britain, and giving a higher in Upon that oracular revelation he commenportance to the present crisis, as going beyond the former, and involving, not merely rights, but ced his political career, and has toiled at its fulfilment for forty years-at first openly, and, it may life and property—everything—the safety of the South, and all. The paragraph which contained be, fairly, by putting himself at the head of all the movements which promised advancement in | this declaration, was this: the public favor. In 1816, protection of domestic "We whose names are hereunto annexed, address you in discharge of what we believe to be a solemn duty, on the most important subject ever presented for your consideration, not excepting the Declaration which separated you and the other United Colonies from the parent country. That involved your independence, but this your all, not excepting even your safety. We allude to the conflict between the two great sections of the Union, growing out of a difference of great sections of the Union. industry was popular: he put himself at the head of the protective policy, and went for the minimum provision—the cotton minimum—which was the father of all the rest, and the only real injury to the cotton growers, by suppressing for thirty even your safety. We allude to the conflict between the two great sections of the Union, growing out of a difference of feeling and opinion in reference to the relation existing be-tween the two races, the European and African, which in-habit the Southern section, and the acts of aggression and encroachment to which it has led." years that class of cotton goods which was of most universal use, and of the largest cotton consumpworn before 1816—so totally suppressed under From this strong language, exalting the crisis ginning to appear again under the tariff of 1846. At the same time (1816) a National Bank—the above that of the Revolution, it would naturally be supposed that the ramedy was to be the same; the State institutions—was much called for. Mr. carried through the bank charter. About the same time, internal improvement by the Federal Government became popular. He seized upon the subject; and, in 1823, as Secretary at War, made an elaborate report in favor of a general system of roads and cauals pervading all parts of the Union. In 18191'20, the Missouri controversy

raged, and the whole North stood up as one man for curtailing the area of slave soil. He took the free soil current, and expunged slave soil from all

rest of Louisiana to the Indians. At the same time

it was understood by many, and the words struck out. The same conclusion would seem naturally to result from a concluding part of the address, in which unanimity was invoked, consequences disregarded, the Union treated as hypothetically worse than useless, called a sword to assault, and not a shield to defend, and in which was left to the North to count it's value. This is the paragraph which contained these expres-

man and divine, in repelling a blow so dangerous, without looking to consequences, and to resort to all means necessary for that purpose. Your assailants, and not you would be responsible for consequences. Ilt would be for them, and not for you, to count the value of the Union. Without your rights, it would be worse than useless—a sword to assault, and not a shield to defend you."

in the abolition of slavery in Upper Louisiana, giving Texas to the King of Spain, and giving the Jackson became the favorite of the people for

the end of his popular movements to gain the houn's views, and caused to be expunged from his Like Jacob, when he woke up, he found it was Leah! A little magician of the North had got into the bed, and was to be Jackson's successor!

Unlike Jacob, he could not wait and serve are in the meeting, and especially the passages expunged from his address, show that his deliberate design was what his lutions hypothetically imported—the subversion of the Union. The paragraph assimilating the long eight years, and determined to clutch the condition of the South in relation to the North to that of the Colonies at the Declaration of Inonce. Then came nullification No. 1, pretexed by that tariff of which he himself was he main author,) and that scheme for dissolving dependence, was awfully significant, and dreadthe Union which Jackson's proclamation put fully false. No wonder it was expunged. Comdown. The tariff failed to bear him through. A pare the list of grievances which he drew up, and A pare the list of grievances which he drew up, and which constitute the staple of his address that more inflammable subject was wanted—and was found in the sensitive question of slavery. Then was published; compare this with the list of grievances against Great Britain, drawn by Mr. came that long succession of abolition plots for Jefferson, and prefixed to the Declaration of Inblowing up slavery in the United States, compared to which, all the popish plots in England for blowing up the Protestant religion—the gunpow-der, rye-house, meal-tub, and other plots, so fordependence—and then see what truth there was in Mr. Calhoun's reckless comparison. According to his assertion, the Southern grievances were not only equal, but greater than those enumerated by Mr. Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence is in every house. But there is another place where the list is more perfect—the inventions. First, there was the London abolition plot of Ashbel Smith, John Andrews, and Lord Aberdeen, for lighting the train of abolition in Texas, and thence running it into the United preamble to the Constitution of Virginia, also drawn by Mr. Jefferson—and where an item sup-pressed in the national Declaration of Independ-States, where it was to explode and blow all up and to prevent which, it became a case of "selfdefence," admitting of no delay, to jerk Texas inence, to gratify some extreme Southern friends, stanter, by treaty, out of their hands, before the plot was ripe—something like jerking the fuse out of the loaded bomb before it would explode. The treaty did not stand the jerk, and was broke; and the plot evaporated without harm. Duff Green hath refused us permission to exclude by law? What a contrast! The King's refusal to any had been paid a thousand dollars by the Tyler Administration, out of the United States Treasury, for bringing that plot from London; but it was money lost. Then came the World's Convention plot, also located in London, for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, the United States the exclusion of slaves from Virginia, then one of the causes of separation, inserted in her declaration of wrongs, prefixed to her Conslavery throughout the world, the United States the normal exclusion by law of slavery throughout the world, the United States the normal exclusion of the Southern the normal exclusion of slaves from Virginia, the normal exclusion of the southern the normal exclusion the normal exclusion of the southern the normal exclusion of inclusively; but it came up feebly, and had no run.
Then came the incendiary transportation mail
matter plot: and that, for a while, threatened to
break up the transportation of the mails, and to
leave the two halves of the Union in a state of leave the two halves of the Union in a state of non-intercourse. It ripened into a bill for searching the mails, and then expired. Then came the would raise up sectional differences for the purincendiary petitions plot: that occupied the time pose of alienating one part of the Union from of Congress for several years, and considerably another. His prophetic vision foresaw the pres-alarmed the country, until everybody saw that it

ent state of things when he wrote this paragraph:

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party, to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield your selves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection." was a game performed by two sets of players, playing into each others' hands, for their own benefit at home, and getting up an agitation of which the public peace and the public business was the victim. It then died out Thus all the abolition plots—pretexts for a second nullification—failed. They were—what the New York law reform statute, abolishing law Latin, interprets the writ of ne exeat to be—no go!

In the mean time there was an episode, which will require a full history some day, but which This malediction of the Father of his Country can only be hinted at now, to complete the picture. It happened that, after Mr. Van Buren's election, falls upon Calhoun—falls upon the twenty years' promoter of hatred and alienation between the Mr. Calhoun became a sort of a supporter of his administration; and, upon a principle that one good turn deserves another, expected his support for the succession. That involved a scheme for

North and the South. But why multiply proofs from the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh! and for twenty years the mouth of Calhoun as poured forth the language of disunion. Sure ly the Holy Scriptures are right; and deadly en-mity to the Union must be in that heart from which its death-knell is daily sounded. Mr. Calhoun is balked in his mode of proceeding. He finds a difficulty in the first step. The

xperience of the first nullification has convinced

him that one State, and that a small one, is too

narrow a foundation to build upon. He needs a broader foundation; and ever since the Texas annexation treaty of 1844, he has manœuvred for a Southern Convention, in order to unite all the Southern States under his control. He wants a Convention. He is great upon a small body—where he can work upon individuals, in detail, must always be ahead — beating Woodbury, Bu-chanan, and other Northern Senators, in his votes and speeches on the Northern side of the question. and by units. He is great then. A Southern Convention was his plan at the rejection of the Texas treaty in 1844. I contributed to break up Some view of this may be seen in my speech on the Ashburton treaty; but the subject requires a separate examination, and shall receive it, but not that plan. At the passing of the Oregon bill in the summer of 1844, he tried for the Convention again; and a subscription paper was cautiously circulated in the House of Representatives for signatures. It was "no go." But few subscribers were got, and the paper was suppressed. This brings us to the last winter's work—the meeting onvoked of the members of Congress from the daveholding States. Its object has been stated, and I do not repeat it. I only name it as a part of the machinery for getting upon a Southern Convention. It was, in fast, a sort of a Southern Convention itself—a caucus Convention—intended to pave the way for the real Convention, and to call it. It was intended to combine Whigs and Democrats, and bring the whole under the control of the head contriver. It was a failure. of raising a configuration a thousand miles off.

The design of these resolutions is now the question; and that design is apparent in the character The Whigs hauled off from it; only a part of the Democracy remained, and many of them for incocent and laudable purposes. Nothing same from this Congress Convention but an emascu-lated address, deprived of the venom in its head, and words of the resolutions themselves—in the previous course of Mr. Calhoun, which I have and of the sting in its tail, and proposing nothing. The contrivance for the Southern Convention had failed again; and his last resource was in State Legislatures and county meetings. firebrand resolutions were to be adopted in State Legislatures, and county meetings got up to stimulate the People. I omit other States. The resolutions were adopted in Missouri immediately after the failure of the Congress caucus, and after the publication of the address—about as soon as they could be known. The resolutions had laid in a torpid state all the winter. They slept dur-ing the time they should have been awake, and in my hands at Washington, if they were intended for my guidance. They were passed after Con-gress adjourned, and the county meetings immediately started. This was in accordance to the practice elsewhere; and, if they still go on, should onform to Accomac, which have at least the merit of doing a wrong thing in the right way. They propose a Convention of the State, to be called at special session of the General Assembly, to de-

This is their resolution:

"Hesolved, That the danger of the State, and the safety and welfare of the people of Virginia, call for a Convention, to be assembled as soon as the Legislature can pass a hill for that purpose, to determine upon the whole question of encoachment by the Federal Government, and by the 'Free Soil' States and the people of the North, on the institution of slavery in the States, Territories, and Districts of the United States; that it is full time for the State to decide what will be its sovereign action finally on this subject, and to inform its citizens and subjects whether they will be authorized to resist, if they are required by Federal legislation to submit to the oppression of a majority in Congress; and that a State Convention, organized according to law, can best settle the rule of conduct for the citizen."

cide fundamentally on the course of action. That

at least, is consulting the people fairly, and giv-ing them a chance to decide understandingly.

The Accomac meeting reports its proceedings to Mr. Calhoun; and that is right again. He is the chief of the movement, and his adjuncts

"Your fundamental act against that institution copied from the Ordinance of 1787—the work of the South in the great day of the South, prohibiting slavery in a Territory far less northern than yours—will not be abrogated! nor is that the intention of the prime moyer of the amendment. Upon the record, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate is the author of that amendment; but not so the fast. That committee is only midwife to it. Its author is the same mind that generated the 'firebrand resolutions' of which I send you a copy; and the amendment is its legitimate derivation. Oregon is not the object! The most rabid propagandist of slavery cannot expect to plant it on the shores of the Pacific, in the latitude of Wisconsin and the Lake of the Woods. A home agitation, for election and disunion purposes, is all that is intended by thrusting that firebrand question into your bill; and at the nextsession, when it is thrust in again, we will scourge it out." should report to him.

I deem it most unfortunate that the General ssembly of Missouri should have adopted Mr. Calhoun's resolutions. I am certain not six mempers of the body had the scienter of their origin and design, or meant harm to the country or myself. But that is no impediment to their evil effect. They are the act of the General Assembly. Upon the record, they are the will of the State. Abroad, they are the pledge of the State to back Mr. Calhoun in his designs—to put the State under his lead—and to stop my opposition to his mod corner. And elibouch I know that sign of the resolutions came into play; and this brings me to the meeting of Southern members of Congress, got up and conducted by Mr. Calhoun. It was a meeting with closed doors—every his mad career. And, although I know that the event will deceive his hopes, yet the mischief will be done, in the fatal encouragement he will receive, before another General Assembly can

correct the error. I consider my proposition—the one with which I commenced my speech—now made good, namely: that the resolutions of the General Assembly. of which I complain, are copied from those of Mr. Calhoun—that, to understand their design, you must understand his design—and that, from the words of his own resolution, and from his conduct for twenty years past, the subversion of the Union is intended. In the execution of this design, 1 cannot be an instrument, nor can I believe that wish it: and I deem it right to have a full under standing with my constituents on the whole

I therefore appeal from the instructions I have received, because they are in conflict with instructions already received and obeyed-because they did not emanate from any known desire or understood will of the people—because they contain unconstitutional expositions of the Constitution, which I have sworn to support-because they reresolutions hatched for great mischief, which I have a right to oppose, and did oppose in my place of Senator in the Senator of the United States, and which I have a right to oppose, and the United States of Senator in the Senator of Senator in the resolutions without personal which I have a right to oppose and which I senator in the Senator of Senator in the Senator of Senator without personal which I senator sense opposite without personal which I senator sense opposite without personal which I senator sense opposite without personal sense of the United States. and which I cannot cease opposing without personal disgrace and official dereliction of public duty-and because I think it due to the people to give them an opportunity to consider of proceed ngs so gravely affecting them, and on which they

have not been consulted. I appeal to the people—the whole body of the people. It is a question above party; and should be kept above it. I mean to keep it there.

And now I have a secret to tell, in relation to these resolution, which I have guarded long enough. I marked their first appearance in the General Assembly, knew their origin and design, and determined to let them go on. It so happens that there are a few citizens in this State, such are denominated, in the Accomac resolutions, adjuncts to Mr. Calhoun. The denomination is appropriate. Adjunct (English) is from ad and junctus, (Latin,) and signifies joined to; which this The most significant of these phrases were set of citizens seems to be, both soul and body, with respect to their Southern leader. These few squinted—in fact looked straight—at disunion. are in a state of permanent conspiracy against me, peace from the question at home, and contributed

perpetual succession of plots against me. To go no further back, I refer to the summer of 1844, transported upon us, to harass us about slavery, and the plot on the Texas annexation question, which I will call the jews-harp plot, in considera-tion of the music which was to be then made upon that instrument, and to discriminate it from others. That plot showed its head, but hid itself afterwards. It failed, and its contrivers went back into their perpetual state of incubation. When the Calhoun resolutions were moved in the General Assembly, and that was at the commencement of the session, I saw that a new plot was atching, and determined to let it quit the shell. I knew that, if I gave a hint of what they were I knew that, if I gave a fint of what they were about, if I had communicated the tithe of what I have said to you to-day, it would have stopped the proceeding. But that would have done me no good. It would only have postponed, and changed the form of the work. I determined to let it go on, and to do nothing to alarm the operators; and for that reason water not a word, one a word on. for that reason wrote not a word-not a word on the subject—to any one of the hundred members who would have blown the resolutions sky high, if they had known their origin and design. I did not even answer a letter from my friend who sits there, (Lieut. Gov. Price.) The resolutions were introduced at the very beginning of the session; they lay torpid until its end. The plotters were waiting for the signal from the "leading friend"—waiting the Calhoun Address. The moment they got it, they acted, although it was too late for the resolutions to have the effect of instructions. They were passed after Congress had adjourned, and after it must have been believed that the subect to which they relate had been disposed of; for t was notorious that the Territorial Government ills were in process of enactment, and in fac they only failed after midnight on the last night of the session, and that on disagreement between the two Houses; and their failure, on the 3d of March, was not known at Jefferson on the 7th—the day of passing the resolutions. It was too late to pass the resolutions for the purpose of instructing me how to vote at Washington. It was too late for that; but was early enough for the summer campaign at home; and, therefore, they were passed! and now I have them. I mean the plot ers; and between them and me, henceforth and forever, a high wall and a deep ditch! and no communion, no compromise, no caucus with them. Nor does it require any boldness, on my part, to give them defiance. There are only about a dozen of them—a baker's dozen, perhaps—and half of them outside of the Legislature. Wo to There are only about a judges, if any such there are in this work! The children of Israel could not stand the government

Citizens! I have finished the view which I pro osed to take of the subject which has induced my appeal to the people; but there are other matters pon which my constituents desire to hear from ne, and in which desire it is right they should be "Barnburner," And what did I go to New

of judges, nor can we.

York for last summer, but to use my utmost exertions to prevent Mr. Van Buren and his friends from engaging in the Buffalo Convention? I went there, that is certain. My public speeches show that I went for that object, and the newspapers, in the interest of those called Barnburners, all assailed me for doing so, not with billingsgate and as blackguards, but with keen reproaches for coming out of my State, centrary to the practic of my life, to interfere in the politics of another State, and that against those who had always been state, and that against those who had always been my friends. My answer was, that I came to use the privilege of an old friend—to give my opinion that the separate organization contemplated was wrong in principle, and would be injurious to those engaged in it; and, what was more, injurious to the great party to which they belonged. Such was the object of my visit to New York, and such my reception. The event disappointed my hopes and expectations; and I had my trouble for my pains, and a good deal of newspaper condemnation into the bargain. All this was public and notorious, published in all the newspapers, and known to everybody. There is not a man in Missouri that does not know it. And now, what are we to think of the language applied to me? Why, that it is a most excellent thing for me. It shows the character of the plotters, and that they will nullify and falsify public recorded history to

The Wilmot Proviso." Well! I think it is the Jefferson Proviso—the same that Mr. Jefferson drew up for the Northwestern Territory in 784—which was adopted in the Congress of the Confederation, in 1787, with the unanimous voice of the slaveholding States—was ratified by the Virginia General Assembly the 30th of Decem-ber, 1788—which was applied by the Congress of bly, February 15th, 1847—and never attempted the 19th of February, 1847, just four days after the date of the Missouri recommendations, when Mr. Calhoun brought in his resolutions declaring it unconstitutional, insulting to the States, and subversive of the Union. I think Mr. Jefferson and not Davy Wilmot, was the author of this Proviso, and that it should bear his name, and not Davy's. With respect to the character of the Proviso, if it should be prescribed by Congress or any new territory, I think it will remain just what it has been for sixty years—a constitutional provision, made in pursuance to the Constitution; and that, being so made, it is binding upon all law-abiding citizens, and that its resistance by force and arms, militarily, would be high treason against the United States, and punishable by death under the laws of the land. With respect to the expediency of the act, there is no necessity for it, and there are prudential reasons why it should not be passed. California and New Mexico are now free from slavery, both by law and by fact, and will forever remain free from it, both by law and in fact. As a general proposition, unnecessary laws ought not to be passed; but, if it is passed, it is an empty provision, having no practical effect whatever. To make an issue against issue about nothing; and, on the part of the South, an issue made for defeat, for Delaware has instructed for it, and that insures a majority in the Senate for the Proviso, there being already a arge majority in the House of Representatives

But there is a stronger reason to claim forbear-This Proviso is the last card in Calhoun's hand—his last stake in the slippery game which he has been playing! Take that last card from him, and his game is up; bankruptoy comes upon him—political bankruptcy—and he must be driv-en to take the act. He will have to haul down his sign—close his doors—shut upshop—and give in a schedule of his effects and stock in trade, and a heautiful schedule it will be. Let us see som items of it-a few, by way of sample:

items of it—a few, by way of sample:

Imprimits. United States Bank charter in 1816—opposition to it when he joined Jackson, 1830—repharter for twelve years to the Bank, when he turned against Jackson, 1834.

Hem. Frotestive tariff and cotton minimum in 1816, and nullification and disunion for the same in 1830.

Hem. General internal improvement by the Federal Government in 1823, denial of the whole power afterwards, and admission of half the power at the Memphis Convention.

Hem. Solemn written opinion, in Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, in favor of the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the Territories, and in favor of the exercise of that power over the whole of Upper Louisiana north and west of Missouri; together with the resolutions in the Senate of the United States in 1847, denying that power in toto. Nota benes: The written opinion is 1650 or mislaid, but its exis'ence can be proved; and that is good, both in law and equity.

Hem. O inion in Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, in 1818, in favor of giving away Texase, when we possessed her; and the London abolition plot, invented afterwards, to get up a slavery agitation, for political purposes, in getting her back.

Hem. All the abolition plots invented for ten years, and charged upon Lord Aberdeen, the World's Convention, incendary petitions, and incendiary communications through the mail.

Speeches and resolutions against the conduct Hem. Speeches and resolutions against the conduct of Great Britain in protecting and liberating slaves guilty of piracy and murder on board American ships, going from one port of the United States to another, and demands for recess; and subsequent contradiction of all such speeches and resolutions at the Ashburton treaty.

Hem. New mode of amending the Constitution of the United States on the subject of internal improvement, by making inland seas out of a river and three States—invented at the Memphis Convention.

Hem. Opposition to the highway of nations between St. Lonis and San Francisco, because part of it will have to go

Hem. Opposition to the highway of nations between S Louis and San Francisco, because part of it will have to through free soil; and besides, when the Union is dissolve the road would be on the wrong side of the line. Hem. The bones of three thousand followers strewed alor my political path since the first commencement of Nullific

Hem. The army of political martyrs preparing to mare the Southern Convention, preceded by the "forlorn hope om Missouri, and having for its banner the Accomac resolu-

"My opinions." They are wanted, Hereto

fore the public acts of public men have stood for their opinions; it has been only the new men, unknown by their acts, that have been subjected to political catechism. Thirty years, almost, I have been in the Senate; and during that time have always been a voter, and often a speaker, on this subject of slavery, and commenced with it in my own State. I was politically born out of a slave agitation—out of the Missouri restriction controversy—and have acted an open part on it from the trimpit born to the recent day. the time it began to the present day. My writings had some influence on the formation of the onstitution in this State. They were pretty well known then, though forgotten now. They sontributed to keep off restriction, and to insert the clause in the Constitution for the sanction of slavery. I urged the putting it in the Constituproperty, and preventing agitation.

tion. My votes in Congress have been consistent with my conduct at home-non-interference, no agitation—security to property—and tranquillity to the people. In thirty years, I have not given a vote that has been complained of. I have voted thirty years, avoiding all extremes, and giving satisfaction. The old generation, and the generaation that has been born during that time, ought to consider this, so far as to let it stand as the eving nothing in the past to condemn, some people must go into futurity, to see if anything can be found there! and even into my bosom, to see if anything is hid there, which can be condemned. Very good; they shall know my opinions. And, first, they may see them in my public acts—in my proposals for the admission of Texas five years ago, in which I proposed to limit the western extension of slavery by a longitudinal line, I believe the hundredth degree of west longitude; next, in my votes upon the Oregon bill, in which I opposed the introduction of slavery there; and again in my letter to the people of Oregon, in which I declare myself to be no propagandist of slavery. These were public acts. But you want public declarations of personal sentiments. Very good; you shall have them. My personal sentiments, then, are against the institution of slavery, and against its introduction into places in which it does not exist. If there was no slavery in Missouri to-day, I should oppose its coming in; if there was none in the United States, I should oppose its coming into the United States; as there is none in New Mexico or California, I am against for such a measure—a declaration which costs me but little, the whole dispute now being about the abstract right of currying slaves there, without the exercise of the right. No one asks for a law for the exercise of the right, and cannot ask it in the face of the dogma which denies the power to grant it. States do as they please. These are my principles; and they reduce the difference between Mr. Calhoun and myself to the difference between refusing, and not asking. this, the Union is to be subverted? Oh! metaphysics! political metaphysics! far better stick to the innocent business of amending the Constitution by putting three States and a river together

If any one wishes to know still more about my principles on slavery, I will give him a reference: he may find them in Tucker's edition of Black-stone's Commentaries, (appendix to the second volume,) where I imbibed them forty-four years ago, when a student at law; and have held fast to them ever since—all but the remedy; and the difficulty of that is one of the evils itself of slavery, and one of the arguments against one set of people putting it upon another and a distant set of people, and especially while they are lifting their imploring hands against it.

To finish this personal exposition, I have to say that my profession and conduct—no unusual thing

with frail humanity—do not agree. I was born to the inheritance of slaves, and have never been their own entreaty, and to save them from execution sales. I have sold some, but only for misconduct. I have had two taken from me by the Abolitionists, and never inquired after them; and liberated a third, who would not go with them. I have slaves now in Kentucky, who were elevated to the dignity of real estate, by being moved from Missouri to Kentucky; and will have to descend next fall to the low degree of a chattel interest, in spite of the laws of Kentucky, when I shall remove them back to Missouri. And I have slaves in Washington City—perhaps the only Member of Congress that has any there—and am not the

least afraid that Congress will pass any law to affect this property either there or here.

I have made no slave speeches in Congress, and do not mean to make them. Property is timid; and slave property above all. It is not right to disturb the quietude of the owner—to harass him with groundless apprehensions. It is a private wrong to disturb a single individual by reaking. wrong to disturb a single individual, by making him believe, untruly, that his property is insecure. It becomes a public evil to disturb a whole community. It creates a general uneasiness, generates hasty and improvident legislation. I have seen no danger to the slave property of any State in this Union by the action of Congress; and cannot contribute to alarm the country by engaging in discussions which assert or imply danger.

But I have a still higher reason for not engaging in these discussions. We are a Republic the head of that form of government-and owe a 1820 to all the upper half of Louisiana—which great example to a struggling and agonized world. was applied by the Congress of 1848 to the Oregon Territory-which was recommended for the spite of the difference of religion, language, mannew Territories by the Missouri General Assem- | ners, customs, have imitated our example: Europe struggling in ancient empires, and her votaries are looking to us for the exemplification of the blessings of which she is in search, and for an argument in favor of her efforts. see? Wrangling, and strife, and bitter denunciations, and threats of separation. They see a quarrel about Slavery! to them a strange and incomprehensible cause of quarrel. They see Slavery and Disunion coupled in one eternal wrangle. They see us almost in a state of disorganizatio legislation paralyzed - distant Territories left without government—insult, violence, outrage, on the floors of Congress—disunion threatened. Their hearts are chilled at this sad spectacle; their enemies rejoice at it; and, by every mail ship that leaves our shores, the representatives of the of our debates, to encourage the enemies and to confound the friends of freedom. France—all parts of Italy, even the Papal States—all parts of Germany, even the old and gloomy empire of Austria—all, all are struggling for liberty, and turning anxious looks to us for aid and succor, not by arms, for that they know to be impossible, but for the moral aid of a grand example. They look in vain. Our example is against them; and if the present struggle for liberty shall again miscarry in Europe, we may take to ourselves a large share of the blame. Once called the Model Republic by our friends, we are now so called in derision by our foes; and the slavery discussions and dissentions quoted as the proofs of the impracticable form of Government which we have adopted. I cannot engage in such discussions, nor do anything to depress the cause of struggling freedom throughout Europe. Nor can 1 disparage the work or abuse the gift of our ancestors. Never has there appeared upon earth a body of men who left a richer inheritance or a nobler example to their posterity. Wisdom, modesty, decorum, for-bearance, dignity, moderation, pervaded all their works, and characterized all their conduct. They conducted a revolution with the order of an old established Government. They founded a new Government with the wisdom of sages. They administered it in their day with temperance and judgment. They left us the admiration and the envy of the friends of freedom throughout the world. And are we, their posterity, in the second generation, to spoil this rich inheritance—mar this noble work—discredit this great example friends of republicanism in their deadly struggle? I cannot do it. Taught to admire the founders of our Government in my early youth, I reverence them now; taught to value their work then, I worship it now : a Senator for thirty years, I cannot degrade the Senate by engaging in Slavery and Disunion discussions. Silence such debate is my prayer; and if that cannot be done, I silence

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tober.
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OF Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.

He has the honor of referring, by permission, to—

Hon. H.L. Ellsworth, late Commissioner of Patents;

Hon. Holius Rockwell, Massachusetts;

Hon. Willis Hall, New York;

Hon. Robert Smith, Illinois;

Hon. J. A. Rockwell, Connecticut;

And to the following testimonial from the Hon. Commissioner of Patents:

WASHINGTON, November 28, 1848.

WASHINGTON, November 28, 1848.

To all whom it may concern:

During the time i have filled the office of Commissioner of Pateuts, and for some time previous, Zanas C. Robbins, Esq., has followed the business of Patent Solicitor in this city, and has been in the daily prosecution of business in the line of his profession at the Patent Office.

I am well acquainted with Mr. Robbins personally, and believe him to be a man of integrity and ability, to whom persons at a distance may safely intrust their business. I am pleased to have the opportunity to say that he is faithful to the interests of his clients, and has been, thus far, very successful in the practice of his profession. asful in the practice of his profession.

Jan. 11. EDMUND BURKE.

LAW OFFICE, CINCINNATI. BIRNEY & SHIELDS, Attorneys at Law, corner of Main and Court streets, Cincinnati.

JAMES BIRNEY, Notary Public and Commissioner to take acknowledgments of deeds and depositions for the States of Mains, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan, New Hampshire, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, New York, and Arkansze.

Jan. 5.—tf

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